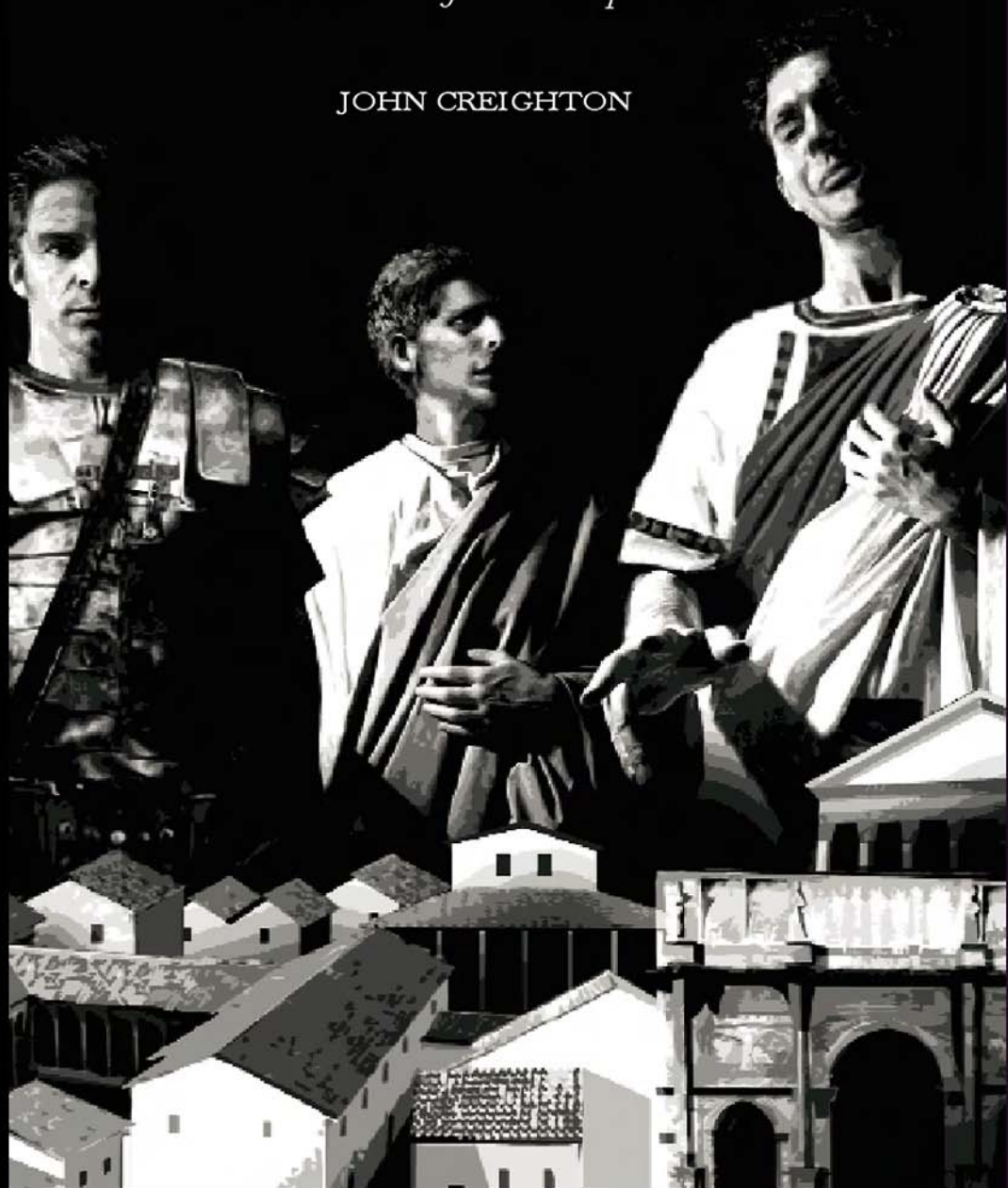


BRITANNIA

The creation of a Roman province

JOHN CREIGHTON



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John Creighton

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FOR MY FATHER, ANDREW CREIGHTON

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PREFACE

Yet another book on Roman Britain perhaps deserves some explanation. One of the problems in the way the discipline of archaeology is usually studied and taught is that chronological boundary areas between two period specialisms often get neglected. Romanists illuminated with classical sources avoid the darkness of prehistory; while many prehistorians blanch at the scale of the material culture that the classical period throws up, let alone the texts. Sometimes this division is encapsulated in some Iron Age specialists saying that they ‘hate the Romans’. It is a curiously emotive response, though I suppose the invading legions did rudely end their period of study. The frustrating thing is that in order to appreciate fully the transformation, a work is needed which crosses that divide of prehistory and classical world. This book attempts to do that. It comes firmly from the conviction that Early Roman Britain cannot possibly be understood without a thorough grounding in what was happening in Britain in the century before. This work is in many ways a successor volume to *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain* (Creighton 2000). In it I focused upon coinage; but I was very aware of all the other material culture and settlement evidence that could be brought into a debate about changing power relations. Also, while I felt that book had highlighted much of the contribution of Rome to the Late Iron Age, I had not followed the story through to show the legacy of that period as the new province was created. That is what I have taken the opportunity to do here. The book shamelessly plays around with ideas, and it is a tribute to the generations of scholars beforehand that they have created such a rich playing field within which to do so.

John Creighton
Reading
February 2005

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to many people who have helped me in my research into the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period: not least the Arts and Humanities Research Board, whose support gave me time to write a substantial part of this book. Colleagues at Reading have provided a great community within which to discuss and play with ideas, I would especially like to mention Richard Bradley, Mike Fulford, Janet DeLaine, Ray Laurence and many of my students over the years. I have had opportunities to test out some of the ideas at papers given in many institutions, Leicester, Oxford, London, Newcastle, Reading, Southampton, and the audiences were always informative and generous in their response. I am particularly grateful to Martin Millett, Simon Esmonde Clearey and Mike Fulford who read various parts and drafts of the book; they have saved me from many follies, and the book is very much the better for it, though of course they have not always interpreted the past in the same way. In the editorial process I would particularly like to thank Frances Raymond for her literary guidance; and the team at Routledge and The Running Head who saw the book through to production, especially Richard Stoneman. Any errors which remain are entirely my own.

All references in the text follow the Harvard system, or are standard classical references to ancient texts.

The cover design was by Aaron Watson. Figures 2.2 and 2.4 are reproduced with kind permission of Colchester Museums; Figure 2.5 of the British Museum; Figure 2.6 of Ray Laurence; Figures 4.1 and 7.9 of St Albans Museums; Figure 7.3 of Ralph Isserlin; and Figure 7.8 of Sussex Archaeological Society. Figures 6.1, 6.2 and 7.5 also contain some artwork by Margaret Mathews. Finally, a much-shortened version of chapter 3 was published as Creighton (2001a).

ABBREVIATIONS

- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1853–)
- ICC Index of Celtic Coinage, maintained at the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford, available at: <http://athens.arch.ox.ac.uk/coins/ccindex.htm> (accessed 1 May 2004)
- ILS* H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1892–1916)
- RIB R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, vol. 1 Inscriptions on Stone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965)
- RIB 2 R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, vol. 2 Inscriptions on Materials Other than Stone*, seven fascicules, 1990–5, ed. S.S. Frere and R.S.O. Tomlin (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990–5)
- RRC M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974)
- VA R. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London: Spink, 1989)

NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS USED

Quotations from the following translations have been used and are duly acknowledged:

Caesar, *The Civil War, together with The Alexandrian War, The African War and The Spanish War by other hands*, translated by J. Gardner (Penguin Classics 1967)

Caesar and Hirtius, *The Conquest of Gaul*, translated by S.A. Handford with revisions by J. Gardner (Penguin Classics 1982)

Dio, *Roman History*, vol. 7, translated by E. Cary (Loeb Classical Library 1926)

Diodorus Siculus, translated by C.H. Oldfather, vol. 3 (Loeb Classical Library 1939)

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain*, translated by L. Thorpe (Penguin Classics 1966)

Livy, translated by T.G. Moore, vol. 8 (Loeb Classical Library 1949)

Livy, translated by H. Bettenson (Penguin Classics 1976)

Polybius, *The Histories*, translated by W.R. Paton, vol. 3 (Loeb Classical Library 1923)

Seneca, *The Apotheosis of Claudius*, translated by A. Perley Ball (New York: Columbia University Press 1902)

Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, translated by J.C. Rolfe (Loeb Classical Library 1914)

Tacitus, *Agricola*, translated by H. Mattingley and revised by S.A. Handford (Penguin Classics 1970)

Tacitus, *Annals*, translated by M. Grant (Penguin Classics 1971)

INTRODUCTION: WRITING HISTORY

Cunobelin, ‘King of the Britons’, was dead. He had probably been dead for a few years, but the political and military ambitions of the new Roman Emperor, Claudius, were very much alive and he was desperate for a victory to secure his new regime. So, in the early summer of AD 43, Claudius’ army landed in Britain and rapidly swept through the southeast until they came to their prize, Camulodunum, Cunobelin’s capital. Here the troops stopped to await the arrival of the Emperor himself to lead the final entry into the town as triumphant victor. The first step in the conquest of Britain had been taken. Over the next few generations the Roman forces negotiated, battled and fought their way across the island until much of it fell under the *pax Romana*. During this period the names of several friendly monarchs are mentioned – Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus in the south of Britain, Prasutagus in East Anglia, Cartimandua in the Pennines – their hazy role acknowledged in paving the way towards Roman hegemony.

This is how the Roman conquest of Britain is often seen. Caesar may have led a couple of expeditions to the island in 55 and 54 BC, but it was with the arrival in AD 43 of the army, the key institution of the Roman state, that we herald the beginning of Roman Britain proper. What I wish to do in this book is comprehensively to blur this picture. All clear event and date boundaries in history tend to provide conceptual ways to divide up time easily and make our understanding of the past manageable, but nearly all mask longer-term processes. 1066, the most memorable date in English history (Sellar and Yeatman 1930), may have witnessed the Norman invasion, but institutional and cultural changes once attributed to it are now viewed as being part of a much longer trajectory; just so with the Claudian invasion of Britain. While it was probably the most dramatic moment in the conquest of Britain, it was only one event which needs to be understood within the longer-term political and military changes taking place in the first century BC/AD. Unfortunately histories of ‘Britain’, the modern nation state, often gloss over this in their construction of a story. The Roman conquest of Britain is not seen as a gradual process involving diplomacy and the piecemeal opportunistic takeover of a multitude of separate kingdoms over a period

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of a century and a half from Caesar to Domitian; instead it focuses upon one date, one event, AD 43, with little else entering popular consciousness. The Romans are foreigners who invade and take over. Britain is subjugated within the framework of a new empire. Superficial history often neglects to point out the British contribution to this process which smoothed the way for integration, failing to acknowledge pre-existing links, friendly kings (or collaborators?) and the British troops that joined the Roman army which helped to subjugate other areas. The population of Britain was far from being innocent subjugated peoples of an empire; it was rather a mixture of individuals with a bewildering range of aspirations, many of whom found an outlet through engaging with the power structures developing with this new Empire, most of them in harmony with their community, but some also no doubt acting at the expense of their neighbours. The British were not all innocent victims in their own subjugation. It has always seemed to me that our uneasy relationship with our Roman past is not too dissimilar from current discourses about the relationship of Britain and continental Europe, with British identity often being bound up in a rhetoric focusing more upon two world wars, rather than Britain's integration into a new European polity (Laurence 2001a).

Writing about the past is a curious activity. All we can hope to do is to reconstruct in our imaginations what occurred. Often those creations will have more to do with our current concerns and ideological values than with whatever might actually have happened. We study 'Roman Britain', but 'Britain' is in itself an ideological construct which has altered its meaning significantly over the last 2,000 years. First it was the Roman name for an island, then for the area which became a Roman province. When this province was divided into four, only two had the epithet Britannia attached. Later 'Briton' gave identity to the Welsh and Scots in contrast to the Anglo-Saxons, as new ethnic identities emerged in the migration period. Under the Tudors and Stuarts the constituent kingdoms of the island were politically reunified, resulting in a new Great Britain, which subsequently developed an Empire, now the Commonwealth. Today 'British' has become a problematic identity caught between devolution, European Union, and a complex association with the one-time American colonies. It is not surprising, therefore, that the way historians have constructed 'Britannia' in their imaginations has changed significantly over time as the world around them has transformed itself.

The purpose of this introduction is to show how ideologically driven our reconstructions of the past are – how our entire framework of thinking about things has been constrained by 'received wisdom' which may seem timeless, but was not the wisdom of other ages. From here it will be possible to start constructing a new imagined Roman Britain, or at least, *my* imagined Late Iron Age and Roman Britain.

Changing representations of Britain and Rome (and Europe)

In recent histories of Britain, the story normally starts with Julius Caesar's visits to the island in 55 and 54 BC. These are usually treated in a pejorative way:

Caesar's two expeditions to Britain are among the least important, and certainly the least successful, of that conqueror's career. In the course of early British history, too, they were scarcely of great significance. Brilliantly lit for us by Caesar's own account, the two excursions did little or nothing to alter the relationship between the Britons and Rome. That was to come later and as a result of diplomacy, not invasion. Commercial and cultural contacts across the Channel in later days were to do far more than Caesar's campaigns to bring Britain within the Roman orbit. Even the passage of Caesar's army through South-eastern Britain has left no certain trace for the modern observer.

(Todd 1981: 15)

What often follows is a brief sketch of the archaeology of the island in the following 97 years until the Claudian legions invaded properly and the province of Britannia was created. This downgrading of Caesar's achievement is one of the things that I tried to contest in an earlier book on Later Iron Age Britain (Creighton 2000). There, I attempted a rereading of the evidence that saw two dynasties of Southern and Eastern Britain established as friendly kings of Rome, closely tied to Augustus' ideological project in the creation of a new network of power, namely the Principate. In this version Caesar had clearly and actively brought Britain within the Roman orbit. One of the mechanisms for this, I suggested, was the practice of educating the sons of kings in Rome. They were called *obsides*, a word often translated as 'hostages', though that term now conveys a greater sense of peril and danger than was probably the case. Perhaps fosterage conveys a more accurate description of what was going on. The process incubated a link between the oligarchy of Rome and the kingdoms at the edge of the Roman Empire. This last idea was received either with a great deal of interest and support, or else with rejection and hostility, rarely anything in between. It seemed I had struck a nerve; some people wanted to keep imagining clear blue water between Britain and Gaul until the fateful loss of liberty under the Claudian legions, and I was blurring that boundary. This set me investigating people's ideological background as they reconstructed the past. Why did they have such different and strong emotional responses to it?

When I wrote about British *obsides*, I had had the naivety to imagine that I was floating a relatively new concept. Of course I had not. The idea actually

had a very long history; indeed it was the dominant theme in the way that Early Britain had been imagined from the twelfth to the eighteenth century. However in the nineteenth century it rapidly seemed to disappear from British narratives of the past. Why? Its prevalence then, and suppression since, appear to be a clear case of contemporary ideology influencing the writing of history, and tracing this change can help us place our own ideological baggage in context and make us more reflexive about how we reconstruct the past.

Among the earliest narrative histories to survive was that of Henry of Huntingdon (c.1129). At the time the Plantagenets held both sides of the English Channel. Within a Norman worldview, northern Gaul and southeast Britain were not foreign places but were part of a single territory. Domains switched hands from one overlord to another through the processes of war, marriage and even debt repayment (e.g. the Duke of Normandy lost his territories to his fraternal creditor, the King of England, in the twelfth century, after pawning them to raise money for the crusades). Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, imagined Britain to be part of the whole Roman world ever since Caesar: 'Augustus succeeded Julius Caesar and held the monarchy of the whole world. He surveyed the entire globe and took tribute from the Britons as from his other Kingdoms' and 'Tiberius, the stepson of Augustus, reigned after him for 23 years, over Britain as well as over the other Kingdoms of the whole world' (Greenway 1996: 16). The notion of tributary kingdoms was unproblematic in his day and age. The glory of the conquest of Britain went to Caesar, not to Claudius or his successors.

Geoffrey of Monmouth (c.1136) elaborated upon Henry's brief history a few years later (Thorpe 1966). His book contained a bewildering mix of fantasy combined with genuine sources. In it he included the names of the Eastern Dynasty, which he reconstructed as: Cassivelaunus, succeeded by Tenvantius (Tasciovanus), then Cymbeline (Cunobelin) and finally Guiderius; all of which he derived from an early medieval king-list (Creighton 2000: 142). Here is Geoffrey's representation of Cymbeline:

[He was] raised to royal eminence, a powerful warrior whom Augustus Caesar had reared in his household and equipped him with weapons. This King was so friendly with the Romans that he might well have kept back their tribute-money, but he paid it of his own free will.

(Geoffrey of Monmouth iv. 11)

So here in the Plantagenet world, where hostage taking and fostering was commonplace, the idea of British princes being brought up in the court of Rome was unproblematic and natural. After all, classical sources said that British boys had been seen in Rome and that British kings had paid court to Augustus (Strab. *Geog.* 4.5.2–3). This notion of British princes in Rome

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and of Cunobelin's kingdom being intrinsically associated with the Principate was widespread, and these ideas were woven into narratives throughout successive generations down to the late eighteenth century. Popular histories such as Holinshed (1587), and more serious works such as Carte (1747) and Barnard (1776), concurred.

Kymbeline or Cimbeline the sonne of Theomantius was of the Britains made king after the deceasse of his father . . . This man (as some write) was brought up at Rome, and there made knight by Augustus Caesar, under whome he served in the warres, and was in such favour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not . . .

Kymbeline, being broght up in Rome, and knighted in the court of Augustus, ever shewed himself a friend to the Romans, and chieflie was loth to breake with them, because the youth of the Britaine nation should not be deprived of the benefit to be trained and brought up among the Romans, whereby they might learne both to behave themselves like civill men, and to atteine to the knowledge of feates of warre.

(Holinshed 1587: chapter 18)

there was a continual intercourse between the people of Britain, and the subjects of the Roman empire; the principal of the British nobility resorted frequently to Rome itself, and some of them were there educated. The Roman publicans, settled here for collecting the customs of merchandize, had all the opportunities they could wish for observing the nature, situation, and condition of the country.

(Carte 1747: 97)

Cunobeline . . . ascended the throne of power. This prince was remarkable for possessing great talents, cultivated and improved by an excellent education at Rome. He kept up a friendly correspondence with the Romans; he subdued the Trinobantes and Dobuni, for having joined the invaders of his country; and he coined money to pay the duties imposed by the Romans on British merchandize imported into Gaul.

About this period the Britons opened an extensive commerce with Gaul. They became more polished, and their intercourse with Rome, to which they sent their children to be educated, afforded them an insight into its power and policy. Augustus beheld these growing improvements with an eye of jealousy, and as presages of future independency, besides, they paid no other tribute than a small duty on merchandize; in all other respects they were free people. The Roman emperor therefore resolved to compel the Britons to

observe the treaty they had made with Julius Caesar, and to pay the stipulated tribute, which had not been demanded for at least twenty years.

(Barnard 1776: 17)

This unproblematic acceptance of the interrelationship of Cunobelin's kingdom and the Principate died away in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In its place Rome became distant from Britain, and in some versions Cunobelin switched to be anti-Roman. We can see this taking place by examining the fate of Shakespeare's play based on life at the court of King Cunobelin: *Cymbeline*. By tracking changes in its performance history we can see how attitudes to the past were changing in parallel to contemporary geo-political events.

Shakespeare derived his inspiration from a blend of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587) and a tale from Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1350s). The plot involved sexual intrigue in Cymbeline's court and included the usual collection of wicked queens, banished nobles, a cross-dressing princess and general confusion. The historical backbone to the plot came from Rome's desire to have her unpaid taxes settled. In the description of the court we have Roman lords present and received warmly in Britain (despite the threats of war) and we have Cymbeline reflecting kindly on his upbringing under Augustus, recalling how the Princeps had even knighted him. The wicked queen and stepmother, true to type, promotes discord and warfare and Rome is forced to invade. Cymbeline's army wins the day. However, there is a final twist: the great god Jupiter appears to a soothsayer in a dream, prompting Cymbeline to decide to pay the tribute anyway. The play ends with a joyful *rapprochement*, with the British and Roman ensigns being processed in unity to the Temple of Jupiter in the British capital, Lud's town (Camulodunum, then thought to be London).

This play was written shortly after the accession of King James VI of Scotland to the English throne and was first performed c.1609. It was a time when the English nationalism of Shakespeare's earlier history plays was no longer appropriate. James was attempting to secure treaties with European powers, and, perhaps more importantly, he had another pet project underway: the union of England and Scotland. London at this stage was full of Scots, and James would periodically descend upon Parliament to regale them on progress with the Act of Union. In this context the theme of *Cymbeline*, two former adversaries looking forward to their coming union, was entirely appropriate. The parallels would have been lost on none of the audience. The Roman invasion was set not in the southeast at Richborough or Chichester, but at Milford Haven in South Wales – a bizarre location in our minds, but to the contemporary audience this was where the last successful invasion of Britain had landed, when Henry VII fought against Richard III, to found the Tudor dynasty. So the play is a mirror of the creation of what was to

become the new Great Britain, fostering harmony and union, admonishing those who would seek discord and division.

Shakespeare's plays were popular for a while, but fell out of favour during the Restoration. When *Cymbeline* returned to the playhouses it was modified to suit the changed political climate. In 1759 William Hawkins wrote a new version of the story, but in his drama any thought of looking forward to a union with Rome was missed out entirely. In this rendition *Cymbeline* ends not by the king agreeing to pay the taxes to Rome, but with the complete victory of the British against their continental foe (Vickers 1976: 374). At the time Britain was engaged in the seven-year war with France, while relations with Rome and the papacy were at a low point. Not long after, David Garrick performed in his own production of Shakespeare's original play (1761) – but here too, amendments were made to the text and the reconciliatory tribute-paying ending was suppressed (Brown and Johnson 2000: 6).

It seems that from the late eighteenth century popular and academic representations of Later Iron Age Britain and Rome were more interested in finding a sharp division between Britain and the continent. Mention of the notion of British kings being brought up in Rome virtually ceases, and Caesar's achievements are now downplayed. This is the tradition in mainstream narratives, which has remained to this day. The desire to create distance with continental Europe is not surprising. Problematic relations with catholic France grew worse with the Revolution. To add to this, Napoleon's Empire and Napoleon III's resurgent imperialism later in the nineteenth century both explicitly used Roman imagery in their representations of statehood and monarchy. The modern nation state of Britain now stood in antithesis to continental empire builders, whether Napoleon's France or the newly unified Germany of the late nineteenth century.

Those performances that did take place in Victorian Britain eschewed the political message, and instead focused upon Cymbeline's daughter, Princess Imogen, as a model of feminine virtue. Since then, *Cymbeline* has been relatively neglected, little performed in the twentieth century, and little studied by Shakespearean scholars. As histories created distance between Britain and Europe, so the play fell out of fashion; except in one distant part of the British Empire, namely India. Here Victorian imperial administrators were facing a problem. They were finding that the Christian education being promoted in the newly established university colleges was not working because of the successful retention of Hinduism by the majority of the students. To tackle this, English literature was thought to be a potential medium for inculcating British values as an alternative to Anglicanism, so *Cymbeline* found its way on to the curriculum. The subtext of Britain's incorporation into the Principate could be paralleled with India's annexation into the British Empire. The success of this tactic meant that Shakespeare rapidly became part of educational curricula both there and back in Britain, and before long knowledge of the bard was mandatory for entry into the civil service and professions,

but for some reason it was his other plays which received attention back at home.

By the Victorian period the medieval notion of Britain being conquered by Caesar, and kings being allied to Rome until Britain's later incorporation under Claudius, had been completely replaced by the separation of Britain from continental Europe in the Late Iron Age. Unlike France, Britain had managed to hold out against one of Rome's greatest generals, his invasion being a failure; tribute may have been exacted once, but thereafter Britons were free again. It was within this framework that modern-day archaeology began to develop.

Twentieth-century perspectives

As we move into the twentieth century, we reach a period where the historiography has been far better studied. Both Freeman (1996, 1997) and Hingley (2000) have done much to show how Victorian and Edwardian histories were constructed within a discourse of Empire, explicitly or implicitly comparing and contrasting the Roman and British colonial experiences.

In general the notion of Britain being distant from Rome until the Claudian conquest survived intact. Cunobelin became a source of opposition to Rome in some histories, for example: 'On some of his coins he put an ear of barley as a retort to Verica's vine-leaf, opposing British beer to imported wine. Fragments of many wine jars in his own country suggest that his nobles did not live up to this sturdy patriotism' (Ashe 1982: 31). Even though archaeology was producing ever more evidence for pre-Claudian contact between southeast Britain and Rome, interpretations kept them politically distinct. Several individuals tried to alter this trend. Stevens (1951) reanalysed the historical sources and raised awareness of the phenomenon of Rome's client or friendly kings – but while many people cited and praised this article, its implications rarely got incorporated into wider syntheses. It seems that within the study of Roman Britain there was a lot of conservatism. The way narratives were created and styled changed little during the twentieth century. Over the years a series of classic syntheses were written, all of which built upon their predecessors: Haverfield (1912), Collingwood (1923), Rivet (1958), Frere (1967) and Salway (1981). These were added to by a new genre with Millett (1990a), who attempted to write an archaeology of the province. Haverfield's work was the foundation for much of this. He had significantly revised the prevailing representations of Britannia and subsequent authors were quite open about their debt to him:

the nineteenth century picture of Britain was of a land of forts and sumptuous villas inhabited by 'rich Romans' (usually generals) on the one hand, and seething masses of savage blue-painted Britons on the other. Haverfield corrected this impression, pointing out that

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Briton and Roman were not mutually exclusive terms and that in fact most of the Roman civilisation had a British content.

(Rivet 1964: 29)

Haverfield's work had been strongly influenced by the writings of Theodor Mommsen that had emphasised cultural homogeneity within the Empire. Haverfield used the term 'Romanisation' to describe the change and saw the process as being particularly successful in Britain. He ascribed this success to the natives not having a predefined ancient form of culture; therefore they were open to adaptation and change, unlike, for example, the Greeks, who were already civilised (Haverfield 1905: 186; Hingley 2000: 116). This was the time when 'cultures' equalled 'peoples', so Romano-British became the new all-encompassing label for the inhabitants of Roman Britain.

Collingwood writing a little later had a strong interest in the philosophy of history. His view was that in order to understand the past one had to empathise with the individuals who lived then, to attempt to view the world as they saw it, however difficult that might be. Applying his interest in individual experience he drew out more social diversity within Britain, acknowledging the possibility of native resistance to certain aspects of Romanisation such as towns. He divided the population up into the cultured and educated town dwellers, and the unromanised villagers in the countryside, some living in 'sordid bunches of huts, huddled together inside a rough fence' (Collingwood 1932: 87). In so doing he was breaking away from Haverfield's normalising view of Romano-British culture. Nowadays this perspective might be called discrepant experience.

In contrast, Rivet's *Town and Country* (1958) civilised the countryside, leading the way back to a more unitary and therefore normative view of culture, seeing villas as signs of sophistication. Rivet sometimes wrote as if villas were the normal form of rural settlement. Though as Hingley pointed out:

To suggest that development of the villas was a 'normal' development within Britain . . . places an emphasis on the archaeological record produced by the elite within the province and negates the information for the less wealthy and powerful. Rivet's 'normal' development was certainly not so in statistical terms: real normality in terms of the vast majority of cases was for no villa house to be built and for a family to continue to live in a village or farm without substantial Romanised building.

(Hingley 2000: 139)

Frere's *Britannia* (1967) provided the key synthesis for the later twentieth century, creating a historical narrative of the Roman period fleshed out with the latest research findings from archaeological investigations, including many of his own at iconic sites such as Verulamium. Yet it still owed a huge debt to

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Haverfield's perspectives. Again a normative view of culture was adopted, with Romano-British civilisation displaying a combination of both 'Roman' and 'native' characteristics:

Outwardly it was Roman, inwardly it remained Celtic; yet it would be wrong to suppose an inner conflict between the two aspects. The result was a synthesis, intended by Rome, and welcomed by the British people as they came to realise the advantages of peace and wealth conferred by membership of the empire.

(Frere 1967: 303)

In the final decade of the century Millett made his contribution to the narratives on offer with *The Romanization of Britain* (1990a). Millett's view of cultural change was comparable to earlier accounts, with 'Britons' adopting 'Roman ways' through a process of progressive emulation, which slowly worked its way down through the social hierarchy (Millett 1990b: 38), while acknowledging that Roman culture itself was a cosmopolitan fusion of influences from diverse origins (Millett 1990a: 1). He emphasised native drivers of change more than the impact of the army and direct imperial interference. In approach his narrative was far more dominated by the archaeological evidence than the historical; but none the less it still discussed Roman Britain within the same broad terms of reference. Indeed, the title of Millett's book paid homage to Haverfield's original (as this book does to Frere's).

Given the phenomenal political and cultural changes that Britain has seen over the last century it is perhaps strange that there has been this broad continuity in the way Roman Britain has been envisaged. This conservatism is astonishing in the light of the radical changes that have taken place in the development of archaeological theory, which have certainly affected the study of prehistory.

In the late 1970s there was a sea change in social theory, with Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979) altering the way the role of the individual within society was perceived. At its core was the problem of understanding change within a normative view of culture and society. In the former culture-historical tradition, as indeed in the later structuralist archaeology, social groups were defined as having shared norms, with everyone in society having similar value systems through which to see and interpret the world; this is what 'cultural identity' was perceived to be. However, this strongly normative view did not allow for the role of the active individual, but constrained them within the rules of expected social behaviour. Archaeological narratives which simply focused upon 'the Roman' or 'the native' potentially lost touch with the individual in the past, facing up to daily decisions as best he or she could, based on their 'way of being' conditioned by up-bringing. Each person would attempt to get through life without making too many social mistakes. None the less, in each social engagement the individual might make

a response which, while seeming to be appropriate, might actually have all sorts of unintended consequences and lead to social change. In the late 1980s these concerns worked their way into mainstream archaeology with Shanks and Tilley (1987) and Hodder (1986):

the entity that we call ‘culture’ is really ‘a series of questions and groping responses, and not a recipe-like set of answers’ . . . The cultural reality is a shifting assortment of varied perspectives, so that, when looked at as a whole, there is no one ‘true’ version of events.
(Hodder 1991: 159)

The field of Roman Provincial archaeology had long been dominated by cultural norms. Indeed sets of them were often placed as binary oppositions in order to foster debate: Military and Civilian (Blagg and King 1984); Roman and Native (Brandt and Slofstra 1983). Even the concept of acculturation, which lay behind Romanisation, had at its core the blending of two ‘cultures’, each of them in itself an artificial construct. In the development of a post-processual archaeology, Hodder and others longed for an approach that highlighted the diversity of individuals, rather than monolithic cultural norms. They found their way forward in the social theory of Giddens and Bourdieu. This meant that the notion of ‘Romanisation’ came in for a detailed critique (e.g. Barrett 1997; Mattingly 1997; Laurence 1999, 2001a; Keay and Terrenato 2001; Creighton 2002; Woolf 2002), but this critique has yet to work its way into creating new syntheses.

A second change, which has been underway since the 1990s, is the resurgence of interest in historiography, reflecting upon how we have come to imagine Roman Britain the way we do. Freeman (1996, 1997) and Hingley (2000) have done much to show how nineteenth-century attitudes to imperialism helped shape, and were shaped by, perceptions of Roman Britain. The development of postcolonial discourse theory has been adopted by some to try to find a way of breaking free from colonialist perspectives (Webster and Cooper 1996), though again the simple dichotomies of ‘Romanisation’ and ‘Resistance’ contain the inherent dangers of compressing the diversity of human response into two contrasting camps, which will inevitably oversimplify things. Whatever their theoretical standpoint, authors are now generally far more self-critical about their own ideological baggage.

None the less, despite these changes in specific detailed studies, virtually all recent syntheses on Roman Britain have continued to be variations upon a theme by Haverfield and his successors; the conservatism remains. This phenomenon was recognised by Millett when he witnessed a conference on *coloniae* in Britain:

as so often with the study of Roman Britain, I felt excited by the quality of the information available from excavations and fieldwork.

It is as good as that available from anywhere in the empire, the result both of the standards of fieldwork practised in Britain and from the sustained research interest, observation, and excavation over a long period. By contrast, I was depressed by the failure of most archaeologists to use this material to challenge existing concepts and develop alternative interpretations.

(Millet 1999: 191)

The perspective in this book

The point of this book is to try to find a genuinely different way of interpreting and narrating the creation of Roman Britain. I just want to focus upon the creation of the province, following two main strands of inquiry.

We take as our starting point the Late Iron Age kingdoms of southeast Britain, and we examine the articulation of power as authority shifted from these ‘friends and allies’ of Rome to the direct imposition of imperial power under the authority of the Princeps and his agent, the governor. What I wish to stress is the extent of gradual change throughout this period from the perspective of witnesses subject to the ‘British’ kings and then ‘Roman’ governors. While to a jurist and a Roman historian, the king and provincial governor were distinct individuals, the perception of subject/citizens within the kingdom/*provincia* would have been relatively blurred. I would contend that AD 43, the date which dominates our narratives of Late Iron Age to Early Roman Britain, would not have been seen as such a drastic change in the southeast of Britain through which the forces of Rome passed reasonably rapidly. We look at the choices made by individuals, as they negotiated their position in the changing power relations, and we examine the frameworks which they acted within. By the end of it the difficulties with labels such as ‘Roman’ or ‘Native’ will become obvious when referring to the upper echelons of society, and even the identification of material as belonging to ‘the Roman army’ will also be seen to be highly problematic. However, the picture painted is not negative, but a positive one in which we can see how individuals responded to the changing world around them as Britain was incorporated into the Roman domain. The invasion of AD 43 is only part of this story.

Chapter 1 sets out the institutional framework within which ‘friends and allies’ of Rome existed, then reconstructs a narrative of the friendly kings and Roman governors of Britain from the later first century BC to the end of the first century AD; events are interpreted within this broader understanding of the developing Principate. After this it should be clear that the incorporation of Britain into the Roman world was by no means a one-off event, but a long-drawn-out process, paralleled well in the formation of other provinces. The next two chapters are devoted to how this gradual transition in authority was witnessed by the rest of the populace. Chapter 2 examines

the visual representation of power by friendly kings and governors in Britain. Chapter 3 evaluates the implementation of force of arms by kings and governors, leading to how this rereading of the history can lead to a rereading of the archaeology of the invasion period.

As the Roman governor gradually superseded the authority of the Late Iron Age monarchs, *civitates* came to replace kingdoms in the administrative structure of the newly emerging province. Here power was exercised through new Romanised towns, some developing out of the late Iron Age royal centres or *oppida*, others brand new on virgin land. These towns were the centrepieces of the new imperial order and administration, taking over the role of the kings. The wide variety of people who contributed to the creation of these towns will be examined as power shifted. We will attempt to imagine what individuals thought they were doing in creating these new forms of space, and what some of the intended and unintended consequences of this may have been. Superficially many towns look similar, comprising the standard collection of fora, baths, basilica and temples. This means we tend to homogenise our view of town life, imagining that existence in one was carried out in pretty much the same way as at another. However, these common elements mask a wide variety in practice, and it will be argued these towns may have contained people within them living life in very different ways. We will see how the architecture of the towns was used not only to affirm the place of the local elite within the Empire, but also to situate themselves within a history of local power, commonly referring back to the dominance of the ruling dynasties of the Late Iron Age.

In chapter 4 the way towns have been approached in the past is reviewed to set the scene, and classical urban life as reconstructed in Italy, and particularly Pompeii, is reviewed to imagine the rhythms of life which certain visitors to Britain may have been used to, influencing their conception of urban living. In chapter 5 we examine the largest city, London, and see how many concepts of space and development relate to our Italian ideal; but in chapters 6 and 7 these similarities diverge as other structuring principles appear to come to the fore, which created and re-created patterns of urban living in the towns of Roman Britain. Ultimately we will find a lot of variation amongst these superficially similar sites, but we also start to understand the human background to this variation, as people conducted and negotiated their lives and tried to make sense of their position within the newly created province of *Britannia*.

The intention throughout is to challenge perceptions and to create an alternative way of seeing the period, while constructing a narrative in which the actions of individuals can be seen within the context of how they viewed the world.

FRIENDLY KINGS AND GOVERNORS

As Rome grew throughout the Republic and Early Empire, so too did the length of her borders and consequently the number of her neighbours. Each new set of peoples brought with them their own diplomatic challenges. Often Rome formed alliances and friendships with the polities around her. This dialogue between mainly unequal partners was part of the natural strategy of defence that many states have engaged in since time immemorial, protecting their own economic and territorial interests. Tools used in such strategies vary: they might include dynastic marriages, treaties, military assistance, and the education of the satellite state's elite at home schools or universities, creating that all-important network of friends amongst the international political elite. The purpose of all of these was to foster trade and exchange, and gain political dominance, without the necessity of engaging in too much military activity. We might choose to call these smaller territories satellite states, allies or client kingdoms depending on their time and place in world history, but all lived in the shadow of greater powers.

Rome's interest in her neighbours has many echoes down the centuries. The modern era has been full of such examples. As the Ottoman Empire declined, the British and French (and later Americans) courted sheikhs likely to prove pliable and friendly to their political interests. Many were supported or installed in their capitals by these foreign interests. Their sons came to be educated in western schools and military academies, recasting their minds with a European outlook. Returning to inherit their kingdoms, these westernised monarchs had a careful balancing act to perform, culturally imbued with a mixture of western and near eastern mores. Those successful at this were exemplified by characters such as King Hussein bin Talal of Jordan (1935–99), educated at Harrow public school and Sandhurst Military Academy. Back in Jordan, when he succeeded his father, Hussein managed to negotiate a number of coups and assassination attempts. He placated rising nationalist support by ditching his commander-in-chief, a British general, who had in many ways been a symbol of Jordanian dependence upon Britain and the west. None the less, throughout his long reign, he managed to tread that fine line of maintaining western acceptability in the face of remarkably

difficult circumstances, namely the Israeli and Palestinian conflict, the six-day war, and relations with Iraq. Of his four wives, one was British, while his last, Queen Noor, was American. His son and successor, King Abdullah, continues the linkage, educated at St Edmund's School, Surrey, then at Eaglebrook School and Deerfield Academy in the United States, before returning to the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst and Oxford University in the United Kingdom. However, for every successful leader, brought up and inculcated with the values of whichever world power is dominant at the time, there are other unsuccessful ones, unable to maintain the balancing act. Some nominee leaders imposed from outside may just never be acceptable to the native inhabitants. One example was the attempt to make Ahmed Chalabiah leader in post-Saddam Iraq. He had been part of the leadership of the Iraqi National Congress, an opposition group in exile created at the behest of the US government. However, after the 2003 Iraq War it became clear he had little local backing and his influence with the Americans rapidly waned. Others fared better for a while, but ultimately failed. The last Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–80), gained the throne during the Second World War when Britain and Russia grew concerned his father was about to align the country and its oil reserves with Germany and forced his abdication. Social unrest saw the new Shah's removal in 1953, but the British SIS and American CIA sponsored a coup that saw his return, whereupon he managed to survive through the use of increasingly autocratic rule until the Iranian revolution of 1979. By the end of his reign he too had lost the sympathy of his population and original international backers. It all goes to show, selecting rulers for other peoples' countries could be a pretty hit or miss affair, which sometimes worked, but at other times stored up trouble for the future, as one-time friends fell from grace.

The Roman world was not much different. Occasionally, in the heyday of the Republic, members of royal dynasties would be sent to Rome or spend time with her armies developing the link between them and the aristocracy of the Republic. Jugurtha was one such example, sent away from his homeland to fight with the Roman legions in Spain in the late second century BC. His uncle, the king of Numidia, was so impressed by reports of his nephew that when Jugurtha returned he was made the king's heir. Indirectly, Rome had affected the succession of a neighbouring state. It had also trained up someone in the latest techniques of military warfare who would one day turn that learning back on his tutors. By the late first century BC this interference in the affairs of friendly kingdoms became far more intrusive and deliberate. So much so, that whereas under the Republic we find heirs to a throne acceding and *then* asking for recognition from Rome, by the time of Augustus and his successors we find the Princeps actually appointing the successors himself.

The vast majority of these kingdoms known from literary sources were in the Hellenistic territories of the East. Many of the monarchs of these realms

sent some of their children to Rome as *obsides*. This is a term often translated into English as ‘hostages’, but this gives a very negative view of the relationship between the child and Rome. While in the metropolis these princes grew up and were educated in Roman mores, they developed friendships, amongst Romans and other *obsides* alike, that would assist them later in life when they became major players in the geo-politics of the Mediterranean world. Rome benefited, but so did the incumbent kings. Potential successors at home could foment intrigue at court; having their sons many miles distant in Rome could have advantages to the monarch. This phenomenon, which significantly developed in the early Principate under Augustus, did not just enhance the relationship between centre and periphery; it also bonded together the territories around the edge of the Roman world as personal friendships were cemented with political marriages. Suetonius’ description of this practice is so clear that it deserves repeating:

Except in a few instances [Augustus] restored the kingdoms of which he gained possession by the right of conquest to those from whom he had taken them or joined them with other foreign nations. He also united the kings with whom he was in alliance by mutual ties, and was very ready to propose or favour intermarriages or friendships among them. He never failed to treat them all with consideration as integral parts of the empire, regularly appointing a guardian for such as were too young to rule or whose minds were affected, until they grew up or recovered; and he brought up the children of many of them and educated them with his own.

(Suet. *Aug.* 48)

It is an unproductive argument to discuss whether friendly kingdoms were part of the Empire or not. It is largely a matter of semantics. At times these kings could be viewed in effect as imperial administrators, a phenomenon which would be ‘entirely in keeping with [Rome’s] general tendency to concede and encourage considerable local autonomy throughout her empire – most notably through cities – and thus pass to others the burden of day-to-day administration’ (Braund 1984: 184). At other times they could be viewed as very much outside Roman dominion.

All too often the relationship with Rome is imagined as oppressive or domineering; but that is to forget the authority and power that Roman support gave to a king. Both sides benefited from the association. On Rome’s side, when it worked, a measure of control and stability was achieved around its provinces. It also created a military reserve, which could be called upon at times of crisis. On the king’s side, the relationship might involve receiving ‘subsides’ from Rome to help him maintain his position, while conferring prestige upon the monarchy under many, though by no means all, circumstances. Association with knowledge from distant lands could often be seen

as attractive and empowering (Helms 1988), but there was a fine line; too much could become alienating to the local population. In such cases if the ruler's position at home became weakened, the relationship could provide the ultimate sanctioning of force to support the monarch's rule with the help of Roman legions or *auxilia*.

These kingdoms underwent various transformations as political events took their course. Some might remain as 'buffer states' between Roman and other competing powers, such as Parthia in the East. Some upon the death of the king were converted into a full Roman province and given not a new monarch but a governor. However, in the Julio-Claudian period, Rome could just as easily convert provinces into kingdoms as the other way around if expedience demanded it. These kingdoms existed in a liminal state of flux, illustrated by three examples from around the time Rome began to get interested in Britain.

First, Judaea was originally captured by Pompey, and instead of immediately granting royal title of the area to Hyrcanus II, it was decided that the territory should be directly administered as part of the neighbouring province of Syria. This situation lasted for a generation from 63 to 40 BC. Then the region was converted back into a kingdom under the rule of the Herodian dynasty. When Herod the Great died in 4 BC he had been awarded by Augustus the rare privilege of appointing his successor. In his final will he had selected Archelaus, but Augustus demoted his title from king to that of 'ethnarch' or 'national-leader'. Archelaus lasted until AD 6 when Augustus sent him into exile at Vienne in Gaul after complaints about his rule by both Jews and Samaritans. Thereafter Judaea reverted to provincial status, with governors such as Coponius (AD 6–9) and Pontius Pilate (AD 26–36/7) given to the territory. Briefly, from AD 41 to 44, it had a king again under Herod Agrippa, after he had assisted Claudius to the throne, but upon his death his son Julius Marcus Agrippa was deemed too young to replace him, so Claudius turned Judaea back into a province (Kokkinos 1998). Clearly it would be difficult to pin down one date when Judaea became 'Roman'.

Secondly, much of Mauretania (modern Morocco and part of Algeria) was a friendly kingdom under Bocchus. However, after Bocchus' death in 33 BC Octavian took control of the country, issuing his own coinage there. In the next few years colonies of retired veterans were planted throughout the territory (Mackie 1983). Then in 25 BC Augustus, as he was now called, resurrected the Mauretanian throne and granted it to Juba II, son of the former king of neighbouring Numidia. The restored kingdom lasted for two generations until AD 40, when Juba II's son and successor, Ptolemy, was imprisoned and murdered on the order of the emperor Gaius. After this two new provinces called *Mauretania Caesariensis* and *Mauretania Tingitana* were created out of the kingdom early in Claudius' reign (Fishwick 1971; Roller 2003). Again, it would be difficult to select one iconic date when Mauretania became 'Roman'.

	JUDAEA	MAURETANIA	COTTIAN ALPS	SOUTHERN BRITAIN (?)	EASTERN BRITAIN (?)
Roman conquest	Conquered by Pompey Administered as part of Syria in 63 BC	Taken over by Octavian after death of King Bocchus in 33 BC	Conquered by Augustus Administered by son of the former king	Conquered by Caesar Little known of post-conquest settlement	Conquered by Caesar Little known of post-conquest settlement
Kingship reinstated	Rule granted to Herod in 40 BC	Rule granted to Juba II in 25 BC	Rule granted to Cottius II in AD 44	Rule granted to Commius?	Rule granted to unknown individual?
Dynastic rule	Herodian dynasty	Juban dynasty	Cottius II rules	Commian dynasty rules	Tasciovanian dynasty rules
Creation of province	Converted into a province upon last king's death AD 6	Converted into a province upon last king's death AD 40	Converted into a province upon the king's death in Nero's reign	Converted into a province upon Cogidubnus' death in the Flavian period?	Converted into a province upon Cunobelin's death?

Figure 1.1 Conquests, friendly kingdoms and provinces

Finally, this state of flux did not just occur at the frontiers, but also in areas totally surrounded by provinces. When Augustus conquered the Cottian Alps, the son of King Donnus became the Roman official in charge of the region, ruling as a prefect. He, like his father, was a Roman citizen as well as of royal birth. In AD 44 Claudius converted the territory back into a kingdom, granting Donnus' grandson, Cottius II, the title king, along with additional tracts of land (Braund 1984: 84). However, upon his death in Nero's reign the area reverted to provincial status.

Kingdoms and provinces can, at times, appear almost interchangeable, and this is also reflected in similarities between the roles of governors and monarchs. Both sets of individuals knew each other well; the governors of the neighbouring provinces would be the most immediate points of contact for kings after all. Thus not only did the sons of monarchs visit Rome, but the sons of Romans visited monarchs:

there was regular contact between neighbouring kings and governors and their respective followers. Cicero's son and nephew were conducted to stay at Deiotarus' court in Galatia by the king's homonymous son. Similarly, the young Caesar stayed at the Bithynian court and the son of Cato Minor at the Cappadocian. Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia was particularly eager to place his son under the wing of Cato himself.

(Braund 1984: 16)

The relationship between the two worked in both directions. Kings adopted various trappings and symbols of authority used by governors (as we shall see below – chapter 2), while a governor could assume the cultural associations of former monarchs in their province. This is illustrated by two examples. First, a governor might symbolically represent the continuity of power by occupying the former royal residence. This certainly happened in Sicily where the governor resided in Syracuse. Secondly, while in Mauretania, the governor Lucceius Albinus in AD 69 was alleged to have assumed the very name of Juba (the dynasty he was replacing) and to have adopted the dynasty's royal insignia. Whether or not the allegations were true, their very currency goes some way to blurring the distinctions between king and governor (Braund 1984: 84). Both were also subject to replacement by the Princes; while citizens occasionally complained about their governors to the emperor, so too could subjects about their king.

Enough will have been said to introduce the notion of friendly kings in the late Republic and early Principate. However, many of these references relate to Hellenistic kingdoms; only a few hitherto have related to the West, and none to Britain. It is now time to turn to Britain to see how a knowledge of this phenomenon helps us, with the archaeology, to reread the historical fragments that have come down to us, to understand the political transformation from the Late Iron Age kingdoms to the province of Britannia.

The situation in Britain: a brief narrative

Throughout the 50s BC, Julius Caesar was engaged in a series of conflicts across Gaul that saw the incorporation of that territory into the Roman world. During this time he made two 'expeditions' to Britain, where he described the Britons as being defeated, coming to terms, submitting hostages and agreeing to pay tribute. However, in the aftermath of the Roman civil war we find that whereas northern Gaul had been regularised into three provinces and the army had occupied the Rhineland, Britain appears to have been left alone. The consequence of this (and other reasons explained in the introduction) was that the exploits of Caesar in this country have been conventionally minimised in modern representations of British history. Salway (1981: 37) described the expeditions as 'Pyrrhic victories', and with good reason; the evidence from archaeology appears to suggest a large degree of continuity either side of Caesar's campaigns. Certainly things were changing: more Roman material culture arrived and the elite adopted new burial rites which had a lot in common with those in Gallia Belgica. But the scale of change accelerated not then but a generation later, in the last few decades BC. It was at this point that imports rose significantly, and new forms of settlement or *oppida* appeared within the landscape, such as Calleva, Verulamium and Camulodunum. Because of this it has been thought that the agency of that change could not have been Caesar himself, but something

later, perhaps the indirect consequences of, say, the German campaigns of Augustus, the provincialisation of Gaul or Augustan diplomacy.

This reading of the continuity of the archaeological evidence was understandable. However, it overlooked a series of radical changes that can be seen in the coinage, which suggest a significant alteration in the symbolic language of political authority, even if that did not lead to any immediate shift in the day-to-day patterns of existence for the majority of the population. Three totally independent transformations can be seen in the numismatic record, each of which suggests there was a large-scale political change within (or imposed on) southeast Britain in the mid first century BC (Creighton 2000: 55–74). The imagery on the coinage changed, their metallurgy and colour changed, and these new issues totally replaced all preceding coins in circulation.

Gold coin had already been circulating in quantity in southeast Britain for perhaps a century, with some types of coin having a distribution area on both sides of the English Channel. The imagery had been remarkably conservative, with successive issues mimicking earlier ones, but slightly altering the abstracted design on each occasion of what had originally been a head on one side and a horse on the other. However, in the mid first century BC there was a break in that lineal continuity, and two new series emerged (called British L and British Q). While the image still had an abstract face on one side and a horse on the other as earlier issues had done, the nature of that abstraction was different from the existing coinage in Britain. In an aesthetic system where incremental change dominated the visual language, this alteration would have been very obvious. Instead of adapting a local coin type, these new series owed a lot in their design to a continental coin (Gallo-Belgic F) which had circulated in the region of the Aisne valley in northern France, traditionally ascribed to the tribe of the Suessiones. Both new coin types can be seen to be the founding issues of two new dynasties. As British L developed in the east it began to be inscribed with the names of rulers such as Tasciovanus and Cunobelin. As British Q came to dominate the south, it was marked with the names of another dynasty, starting with Commius and Tincomarus. So the mid first century saw the emergence of dynastic coinage – in each case replacing earlier series with a new form of imagery. It appears as though something of genuine political significance had happened. This view is reinforced by two other numismatic observations.

The second change we see is a transformation at the same time in the gold content of these new series. In antiquity few objects were made of refined gold; most were ternary alloys of gold, silver and copper, all of which had slightly different colours. Whereas the earlier coins had a yellowy hue with a fairly variable gold content, the new series were now made of a red-gold alloy, which had a far more stable proportion of gold in it. The difference in tone is very noticeable if any coins are seen side by side in a museum. This, again, signified change, not only visually in terms of colour, but perhaps also

relating to value systems. Now precise quantities of gold were being measured out.

Finally, the third change is that, when we look at coin hoards, deposits of coins containing both the pre-Caesarean coinage and the new dynastic series are exceptionally rare. It is as if all the earlier coin had been withdrawn from circulation to be replaced by these new issues, with their contrasting design and different colour.

The combination of these three changes in the gold coinage, all happening at the same time, suggests a radical restructuring of the political arrangement of southeast Britain at this date, even though otherwise in the archaeology we see little alteration. A recoinage across all of southeast Britain required the mobilisation of a significant degree of power or authority. The old images were swept away and replaced by a new iconography, which was soon inscribed with the names of two new dynasties: the Commian dynasty in the south and the Tasciovanian dynasty in the east. Nash (1987) christened these polities the Southern and Eastern Kingdoms.

So what does this all mean? Caesar had conquered Britain, so he tells us, and so some Romans thought (Stevens 1951). The situation would now demand that the area was turned into a province, militarily occupied or made into a kingdom. Giving a king to part of Britain might involve either recognising an existing leader as pre-eminent, or else imposing one from outside. Since Caesar's description of Britain suggests a fragmented political structure with a large number of petty rulers (four in Kent alone, Caesar *BG* 5.22), imposing a king of kings would have certainly been an appropriate strategy.

One prime candidate we can identify is the historical figure of Commius, a Gaul who had been recognised by Caesar as king of the Gallic Atrebatas (*BG* 4.21). Caesar considered Commius loyal and sent him to Britain early on as a precursor to his campaigns, accompanied by various British emissaries who had offered to submit to Rome (*BG* 4.21); perhaps this was a first attempt to impose him as an overlord. Whatever, it failed, as he was taken captive when he landed (*BG* 4.27). None the less Commius continued to be an important link between Britons and Romans in this theatre of war. After being freed upon Caesar's visit of 55 BC he went on the following season to negotiate the surrender of Cassivellaunus, the principal British war leader. In the aftermath he was rewarded by having his dominion in Gaul extended to include a large stretch of the Gallic coast of the English Channel (the Menapii and Morini: *BG* 6.6, 7.76), but we are not told what arrangements were made on the British side.

However close Commius had been to Caesar, when the Gallic revolt erupted his loyalties were stretched and he switched sides. The insurrection was crushed at the siege of Alesia, where its leader, Vercingetorix, was forced into submission and taken away to die in Rome years later. Somehow Commius escaped captivity; he remained free and even survived an assassination attempt on his life, from a Roman officer. He engaged in sporadic

guerrilla warfare against the Roman forces. Eventually he did surrender, but only after he had inflicted what he believed to be a mortal wound on his would-be assassin. At this point he sent a message to Caesar's aide, Mark Antony, where he 'offered hostages as a guarantee that he would live where he was bidden and do as he was told. His only request was that as a concession to the fear that haunted him he should not be required to come into the presence of any Roman. Antony decided that his fears were justified and therefore granted his petition and accepted the hostages' (Hirtius *BG* 8.48). It has always been tempting to associate this figure, who had earlier been influential in the British campaign, with the coins inscribed COMMIOS which appeared shortly after in southern Britain. These issues were the first of a series which carried the names of the Southern Dynasty: Commios, Tincomarus, Eppillus and Verica. The temptation to link the two becomes irresistible when we also recall that the Roman *civitas* name for one of the regions in which the COMMIOS coins circulated was 'the Atrebatēs', the same name as the community he had first been appointed ruler of in Gaul by Caesar (*BG* 4.27). My reading of the evidence, therefore, would be to view Commius as being appointed king over several of the political groupings that surrendered to Caesar on his expeditions in Britain (Creighton 2000: 59–64).

The same may be the case with the principal dynasty of the east, the first name of which we find inscribed being Tasciovanus. It has often been assumed he was a descendant of Cassivellaunus, the British war leader in Caesar's time; while this may be the case it is none the less a conjecture. All we know of his origins is that two generations later Dio described two of Tasciovanus' grandsons as being 'of the Catuvellauni' (Dio 60.20). This is the first time this label appears in reference to Britain, and later it was to be the name given to the Roman *civitas* focused upon Verulamium. However, it is equally possible that, like Commius of the Gallic Atrebatēs imposed on the south, Tasciovanus (or his father) may also have been a Gallic implant. On the continent the name 'Catuvellauni' belonged to a portion of the Remi of northeast Gaul. The Remi were a community that had shown unswerving loyalty to Caesar throughout his conquest, so where better to recruit a potentially Roman-friendly leader? It is entirely plausible that we should see in the institution of the Eastern Kingdom a parallel process to the formation of the Southern one, with Caesar appointing two Northern Gallic nobles to reign over a collection of communities in southeast Britain. For those uncomfortable with the notion of part of Britain being ruled by two appointees from Gaul, it is worth pointing out that such an arrangement need not have been anything new. Sometime before the expeditions to Britain, Caesar had referred to there having been a king of the Suessiones who had held dominion over parts of Britain. His name had been Diviciacus (Caesar *BG* 2.3–4). Caesar's arrangement, if it were such, could easily be dressed up and legitimised as a reinstatement of earlier relationships, only this time the Gallic lords themselves were vassals to Rome.

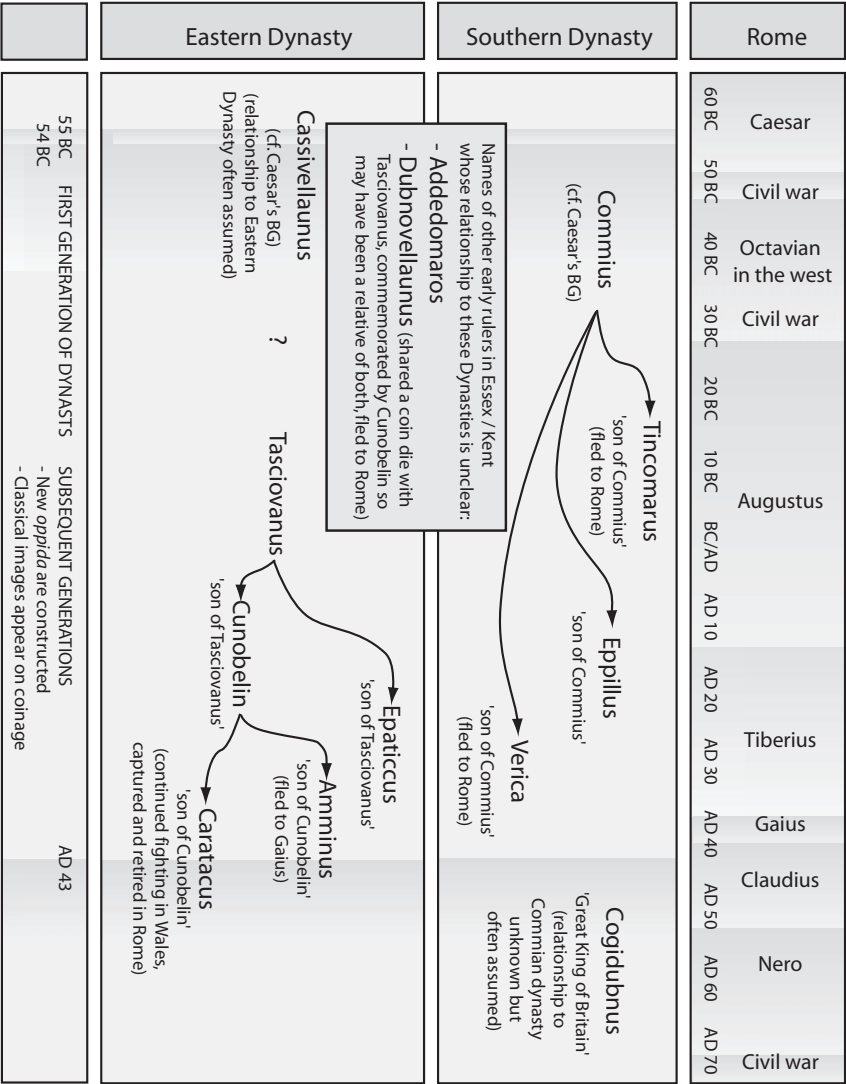


Figure 1.2 Late Iron Age and Early Roman rulers in southeast Britain

This interpretation of the implantation of two new kings in southeast Britain would be totally in keeping with practice as it was developing around the Empire. Juba II, son of the Numidian king, had after all been handed the crown of neighbouring Mauretania, and Herod had been given Judaea, when neither had a direct claim to these thrones. Indeed, closer to home, Commius had earlier been granted leadership by Caesar over the Menapii and Morini on the north French coast, to the north of the territory of the Atrebatas of which he was originally king (Caesar *BG* 6.6, 7.76).

It is perhaps uncomfortable to think that a radical political change, demonstrated in the coinage, could have had so little immediate impact upon other aspects of the archaeological record. But this should not surprise us; even if there were two Gallic nobles now imposed as kings over the numerous peoples of southeast Britain, their upbringing would hardly have made them much different from the native British elite. Close contact between high-ranking Britons and northern Gaul had presumably been current since the time of Diviciacus' reign before the arrival of Caesar. The big change would come with their successors, the second generation of rulers. As stated above, the sons of kings were often 'educated' at Rome and with the Roman army. This supplied hostages for security and also provided a way of tightening the personal bonds of power between the elite of the Roman world and her periphery. When this generation of children grew up and returned to succeed their 'fathers', that is the stage when we can expect to identify 'change' spreading out into other aspects of life. This is what happened: a generation after Caesar we see a significant increase in imported 'Roman' material culture in southeast Britain; we also witness the foundation of new types of settlement representing new ways of living – the *oppidum* sites of Calleva, Verulamium and Camulodunum.

It is only a hypothesis that the second generation of kings were brought up in Rome. While this was certainly the practice with Hellenistic monarchs, explicit literary reference to British *obsides* is absent. Strabo does tell us he saw British boys in Rome, though he does not mention whether they were *obsides* or slaves (Strab. *Geog.* 4.5.2). We do know Commius handed over hostages to Mark Antony, though alas we do not know where they were held (Hirtius *BG* 8.48). Again the coinage has a story to tell here. Just as there was a marked alteration in it at around the time of Caesar, there is a second more obvious transformation coinciding with the period when this second generation might be expected to be returning to rule. Abstract imagery gives way to naturalistic 'classical' iconography on the coin in a radical break from the existing aesthetic.

First, the imagery found on the coinage of the two kingdoms from 'the second generation' onwards (Tincomarus and Tasciovanus) begins to display not just classical references, but, to be more precise, the visual language of the development of the Principate. Octavian's use of imagery changed as the nature and basis of his power altered during his ascendancy. This was

reflected in many media in Rome and Italy, from statues and monumental sculpture, to more mundane artefacts such as lamps and roof tiles (Zanker 1988). This iconography did not appear just on public buildings, but was adopted and used on personal and household ornaments by a large range of the population in Italy as it came to terms with and adjusted to the rule of the *Princeps*. But how can we explain these images in Britain? In the past the native Britons have simply been described as copying Roman coins and even some Greek ones. But this interpretation is inadequate. Only a few of the types resemble Roman coins at all closely, and when they do there are often deliberate adaptations to the images. A simple explanation would be that the elite of Britain were acting in exactly the same way as the aristocracy of Italy and Rome in showing their affiliation to the Augustan revolution through the use of this imagery (Creighton 2000: 80ff.). The whole point and function of *obsides* in Rome was, after all, to create cohesion amongst the elite of Rome and her neighbours. This was a simple clear expression of it.

The second phenomenon which is difficult to explain away, in any other fashion than by imagining that the sons of the kings in Britain spent time in Rome, is that the range of images adopted also includes those from other monarchies around the Roman world at the time. The Commian dynasty and Epaticcus have types which link down two generations of the Mauretanian dynasty of Juba II (25 BC–AD 25), then Ptolemy (AD 25–40). Juba II was raised in Rome and served on campaign with Octavian, and since, as we have seen above, Augustus promoted connections between the families of these kings, this provides a simple mechanism for understanding the transmission of images or tokens between these individuals. Whilst some of the types can be explained away as being due to trinkets picked up by auxiliaries fighting in Caesar's civil wars around the Mediterranean coming to northern Europe when the troops returned, this explanation proves inadequate to account for the continued link down several generations. The presence of North African coins found in Gaul has been examined by Fischer (1978), and again the types that are imitated in Britain are simply not known in northern Europe. The concept of *obsides* and friendly kingdoms provides a far neater and more plausible explanation for these long-term connections than any other I can imagine. It is also worth noting that the same Mauretanian coins which were copied in southern Britain were also reproduced in a second region on the periphery of the Roman world, though this time at the other end of it, in the Hellenistic Bosporan Kingdom on the north of the Black Sea, dating from 16 BC to AD 13 (Frolova 1997: Plate V, 5–16; Creighton forthcoming).

The coinage therefore suggests we can imagine that the two primary dynasties of southeast Britain were either appointed or at least recognised by Rome as friends and allies. How do we therefore interpret the historical snippets which literary sources provide for us in this context? Several kings fled to Rome as suppliants. Often it has been suggested that this was as a consequence of inter-tribal warfare, usually characterising 'the Catuvellauni'

    Gallo-Belgic A VA12:SE1-3 Gallo-Belgic C VA42:SE4	Pre-Caesarean gold
    British Q VA212:56 Cornius VA350:56	Early gold of the new dynasties
                    Tincomarus VA375:S7 Verica VA520:S8 Verica VA397:S8 Tincomarus VA557:S7 Verica VA556:S8 Cunobelin VA2109:E8 Cunobelin VA2089:E8 Amminius VA194:E8 Tasciovanus VA1732:E7 Cunobelin VA2029:E8	Gold of the dynastic successors Silver and bronze of the dynastic successors

Figure 1.3 Changes in imagery on British Iron Age coin

(the Eastern Kingdom) as the aggressors, gradually taking over more and more of southern Britain at the expense of the Southern Dynasty. However, our sources do not actually say this. Of the flight of Tin[comarus] and Dubnobellaunus recorded in Augustus' *Res Gestae* (32), so dating before AD 7, we have no particular details. But often when kings fled to Rome this was as a consequence of palace intrigues within ruling dynasties, rather than external aggression forcing them out. In the case of Adminius, we are told he fled because he had fallen out with his father, Cunobelin (Suet. *Cal.* 44.2). With Verica the cause is said to be 'civil discord' rather than external aggression from the Catuvellauni (Dio 60.19.1). So in the cases of four flights to Rome, two we know no more about and two were due to internal quarrelling. The notion of these two British kingdoms being constantly at war with each other is possible, but simply conjecture. The only basis for it is that the distribution plots of the coinage of different kings cover larger and smaller territories. However, depending upon succession and who was in favour at Rome, lands once granted to one king could easily be reallocated to another. Perhaps we should think more about ideas of intermarriage between these dynasties rather than warfare. Epaticcus, a member of the Eastern Dynasty, has coinage in the upper Thames valley, once part of the Southern Dynasty's domains, but on it he mixes the iconography of both Southern and Eastern Dynasties suggesting union, rather than imposing his own, which might have implied conquest.

Friendly kingdoms were ideally supposed to provide stability around the edge of the Roman sphere. So when Diodorus Siculus (5.21.4) says that Britain is 'held by many kings and potentates, who for the most part live in peace among themselves', perhaps we should take this seriously and reject our imaginary reconstructions of continuous warfare in Late Iron Age Britain. During the process of conquest Tacitus implies order and stability had given way to division and conflict upon the arrival of the Roman army: 'once they owed obedience to kings; now they are distracted between the warring factions of rival chiefs' (Tac. *Agr.* 12). None the less this notion of continuous warfare amongst the tribes of the southeast is ingrained in our narratives of the period, even though the literary evidence does not support it. Perhaps this comes from deeply embedded notions of the Roman Empire bringing the *pax Romana* to warring uncivilised barbarians, which may have more relevance to the British Empire than to any particular historical reality.

The Southern and Eastern Kingdoms in Britain lasted just under a century, perhaps with minor adjustments in the territories of each involving Kent and the Thames valley. Broadly they appear to have been successes. These Roman implantations succeeded in binding together a larger number of smaller clans or dynasties. However, the system and succession relied upon a close link and personal relationship between the Princeps and the contender. But what would happen if communication with the Princeps became difficult or estranged? What would be done if the Princeps was a tyrant or became

insane? These were the circumstances where annexation could loom, and the succession might not go ahead as planned. As it happened, the leaders of both British kingdoms fell at a most inopportune time around the end of Gaius' reign, or at the start of Claudius'. In the Southern Kingdom Verica fled to Rome because of civil discord sometime shortly before AD 43 (Dio 60.19.1), while in the Eastern Kingdom Cunobelin died (Dio 60.20.1).

The succession of friendly kingdoms was something that involved the sanction of Rome. When that endorsement was not forthcoming or was delayed, chaos could ensue. Braund highlighted the uncertainty a delay in recognition could cause in Egypt, where Rome had procrastinated for over twenty years:

appellatio was of the highest importance for the king within Rome's orbit: all the more so where the king was especially insecure . . . [for example] Ptolemy XII Auletes, whose position was most insecure, for his predecessor had bequeathed his kingdom to Rome upon his death in 80 BC. When Auletes first sought recognition is not known, but he had little reason to delay. By 70 BC the recognition of Auletes – or, alternatively, the annexation of Egypt – was already a long standing issue at Rome. In 65 BC, Crassus, as censor, sought annexation; in 63 BC, Egypt was threatened again by the Rullan bill. It is immediately apparent why, when Diodorus visited Egypt in 60 BC, he found it in a state of apprehension because Rome had not yet recognised Auletes. The king's anxiety and eagerness for recognition is underlined by the fact that he was willing to pay almost 6,000t. to Caesar and Pompey for their support in obtaining it: this is said to have been the amount the king drew from his kingdom in an entire year.

(Braund 1984: 26)

As the Republic gave way to the Empire, the succession in friendly kingdoms became something that the Princes took a direct interest in. Braund (1984) saw a shift in the form recognition took. No longer did a new king assume the throne and then ask to be recognised by Rome; on the contrary, the hopeful contenders had to wait until nominated by the Princes. To assume the throne straight away would be far too presumptuous. So what happened in Britain? Upon Cunobelin's death, various individuals, such as Caratacus, will have wanted to press their claims. How would they go about this? They could travel to see the emperor; however up until AD 41 this was Gaius, more commonly referred to by historical tradition as 'Caligula the monster'. News travels fast, and there is little reason to believe that knowledge of some of Gaius' stranger escapades would not have reached the ears of the British aristocracy; and it would be on the basis of these stories and personal information that any claimant would have to work out how to assert his title to the throne.

Travelling to see Gaius was a risky enterprise. One British princeling had already done so: in AD 39 the Princeps was on campaign in Germany, possibly securing the Rhineland before planning to launch a campaign in Britain (Barrett 1989: 136). While he was there Adminius, one of Cunobelin's sons, fled to Gaius, having fallen out with his father (Suet. *Cal.* 44.2). Exactly what happened to Adminius in particular we do not know, but a story about how other *obsides* present with him were treated may have made one wonder at the judiciousness of visiting this particular emperor. Suetonius, in his damning representation of Gaius, tells us a number of stories suggesting that the *obsides* would have witnessed all sorts of fake charges and bogus attacks upon the enemy, but the princelings were not always just observers of the action. On one occasion it is said Gaius forced some of them to ride out of camp; a little bit later he left his dinner to enjoy the sport of hunting them down with his cavalry as if they had been fugitives.

When he returned to the hall after catching the hostages and bringing them back in irons, . . . he made them recline at table, still in their corselets, and quoted Virgil's famous advice: 'Be steadfast, comrades, and preserve yourselves for happier occasions!'

(Suet. *Cal.* 45)

The reality of what happened we may seriously doubt. Historical tradition is often unkind to murdered emperors, whose demise the successor regimes sought to legitimate. Gaius' campaign against Britain was firmly derided, with a description of his troops amassed along the Gallic shore being ordered to collect sea shells (Suet. *Cal.* 46; Dio 59.25.1–5). The archaeological evidence is sufficient to suggest that Gaius' campaigns were far more serious than the hostile historical tradition represents, involving the recruitment of additional legions, and the building of boats and a lighthouse (see below, p. 52). However, impressions are formed not by reality, but by stories. Another story, which could have come to this shore, would be the murder by Gaius of King Ptolemy of Mauretania. The merits of the execution are unclear (it may have been because he upstaged Gaius by wearing an impressive purple robe to the theatre, but on the other hand Ptolemy may have been involved in one of the failed conspiracies against Gaius). Nevertheless, the death of one friendly king who had travelled to Rome would not encourage any potential successor to do the same.

So it may be that in the last years of Gaius' reign both kingdoms were awaiting a decision as to who their next kings should be. Opportunists such as Gaius and Claudius could not but have seen this as a potential opportunity to annex the two domains. Claudius in particular had an eye upon consolidating his position after his predecessor's assassination with a glorious military conquest and triumph.

We know of three potential successors to the Eastern Kingdom: Caratacus

and Togodumnus (Dio 60.20.1) and Adminius. The first two were in Britain when Claudius' legions landed. The historical sources never refer to them as kings, suggesting neither had adopted this title. Caratacus has a few coins, but none with REX on them and none in gold. That Caratacus and Togodumnus fought the legions is easily understandable: one of them might have expected to inherit Cunobelin's throne. As it happens Togodumnus died in the fight, Adminius disappeared into historical obscurity and Caratacus fled west to lead the resistance in Wales until he was finally captured in AD 51 and transported to Rome. Had things been different Caratacus could easily have journeyed to the capital to be proclaimed a friend and ally, rather than see the legions taking away his prospective domains. Indeed this is precisely how Caratacus is represented as feeling by Tacitus in the set-piece speech made in front of Claudius:

If my nobility and lot in life had been matched by an appropriate share of good fortune, I would have entered this city as a friend, not as a captive, and you would not have disdained to receive me in peace, under treaty, the scion of famous forebears and the ruler of numerous peoples. My present position is hideous for me, but splendid for you. I had horses, men, arms and wealth: is it surprising that I was unwilling to lose them?

(Tac. *Ann.* 12.37 trans. Braund)

Braund (1996: 114) considered the speech to be not only profoundly Roman but also typically Tacitean. He thought it most unlikely that Caratacus would have spoken in this vein. To be sure, this speech is a literary fiction of Tacitus' creation, contrasting the strong character of Caratacus with that of a weak emperor. However, from a potential successor to Cunobelin's kingdom which spread over a number of domains in southeast Britain and perhaps even further west into Wales, and as a potential former *obsides*, the conjectured sentiments may have been entirely appropriate to what Caratacus may have wished to say. As far as we understand, Caratacus lived out his exile in Rome, so literary figures in the city would have been perfectly familiar with his fate. Tacitus certainly made up speeches, such as the orations by Boudica and Calgacus on the eve of battle in Britain (Tac. *Ann.* 14.35; *Agr.* 29); but unlike those speeches, the one by Caratacus was made in Rome. Perhaps some of its sentiments were remembered by posterity to be woven into Tacitus' rendition, though alas the nature of classical historical writing means it was probably just an invention.

We often think of AD 43 as marking the end of the independence of Britain, but of course the friendly kingdoms continued beyond this date in various parts of the country. It was not uncommon for petty principalities to get left behind the expanding Roman frontiers. This happened with the Cottian Alps, and with several domains within Syria; so too Britain (Braund

1984: 84). As the Claudian army marched into the Midlands, it left to its rear the kingdoms of Cogidubnus and Prasutagus, while to its north lay the territory of Cartimandua. Unfortunately, the precise extent of their domains and their relationships to the pre-existing dynasties in their areas are not known.

Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus

Cogidubnus is known to us from both epigraphy and historical sources, but alas we have only a hazy idea of where he ruled; even his name is uncertain, with 'Togidubnus' being an equal possibility owing to a few missing letters on an inscription and a medieval gloss on a manuscript (Tomlin 1997). We know that he held 'several domains' (Tac. *Agr.* 14); and since his name appears on an inscription from Chichester (RIB 91), it is this *civitas* of the Regni that is often seen as the centre of his kingdom. Sometimes this is all he is credited with (Cunliffe 1973: 23). Sometimes he is given the rest of the area identified by the Commian dynasty's coinage (the *civitates* of the Atrebatas and Belgae: Salway 1981: 92; Millett 1990a: 68). However, the case for the largest expanse of territory awarded to him was put forward by Haselgrove (1984: 36), who suggested that during the period of conquest virtually the whole of the southeast might have been given to him, with the exceptions of Prasutagus' territory of the Iceni and the *territorium* of the new Roman colony established at Colchester. This would have enabled the governor to concentrate his energies in the area of intensive military occupation along the Fosse Way. The situation may have been relatively complex and we will probably never understand it. Since twelve Augustan colonies existed happily within the kingdom of Mauretania (Mackie 1983), even the exclusion of Colchester from Cogidubnus' dominion is by no means certain, though usually assumed. On the Chichester inscription, the latest reading suggests his title was 'Great King of Britain' (Bogaers 1979), which is vaguely reminiscent of the title some kings in the Hellenistic East had as 'King of Kings' where they too ruled over several domains.

For my own preference, I would imagine that both Eastern and Southern Kingdoms continued in some guise. This kind of situation may have lasted until the full establishment of *civitates*, which may have been well into the Flavian period but we do not know for sure. It is a great shame that the section of Tacitus' *Annals* dealing with the reign of Gaius and the early part of Claudius has not survived, as it would undoubtedly have enlightened us.

Prasutagus

Prasutagus' territory is nearly always imagined as confined to the boundaries of the Roman *civitas* of the Iceni. Precisely when he was recognised as king in East Anglia is unknown. The Iceni were not recorded as having been defeated during the Claudian annexation, and it may be that their king

had surrendered to Claudius before any significant engagements took place. Since both Suetonius (*Claud.* 17.2) and Claudius' victory arch (*CIL* 920) suggest the annexation involved relatively little bloodshed, this is quite possible (Barrett 1991: 14). Given this, it is plausible that there was some continuity in the Icenian leadership either side of Claudius' arrival.

In the south of the territory is an enclosure, which almost certainly can be related to the articulation of power in the region. This is the 'temple' or mortuary complex at Fison Way, Thetford, excavated in the 1980s (Gregory 1991). The site evolved from a small enclosure to a much larger one, which was systematically levelled around the time of the Boudican revolt. Hence the site has naturally been interpreted as being related to rituals reinforcing royal power, perhaps in the same way as Hayling Island was used by the Southern Dynasty (Creighton 2000: 192). Gregson thought the site started in AD 43, based on the premise that imported Roman pottery could not possibly have appeared in this location at any time prior to this date (Millett 1992: 427; Creighton 1994: 332). However, this overlooked the widespread importation and availability of ceramics in Cunobelin's kingdom to the south. Therefore, the start date of the complex can probably be brought forward. In which case we potentially have a 'royal' site that spans both sides of the Claudian annexation of the Southern and Eastern Kingdoms. Continuity can be seen here.

A revolt took place during the governorship of Ostorius Scapula in AD 47, following the decision to disarm many of the communities of southeast Britain. The Iceni rose up along with various unnamed peoples, but were rapidly put down (*Tac. Ann.* 12.31). Whether Prasutagus was king already and managed to weather this storm, or whether he only became king afterwards, is unknown. Whichever, his rule ended with his death around AD 60/1. The kingdom was left to Nero in the king's will, and a successor was not appointed. Instead the assets of the kingdom were earmarked to be absorbed into the Princeps's fortune (or what remained of it by that stage), and the procurator was sent in. Whilst the actions of Decianus Catus in executing the will may have sparked off a revolt which saw three cities put to the torch, Tacitus, one never to hold back from criticism, never said the appropriation of the kingdom by Nero was wrong, or in error (Braund 1984: 144).

The literary descriptions of the revolt are tightly bound up with Roman discourse on gender roles and *libertas*; Boudica is variously portrayed as a wronged mother who displays strong Roman values (*Tac. Ann.* 14; *Agr.* 16), or as a terrifying warrior queen who is more of a man than Nero (*Dio* 62). Nothing of the 'real' Boudica can probably be teased out of our sources. However, whatever her precise role in the events, she can hardly be cast as a lifelong symbol of resistance to Rome – she had presumably done rather well, married to a friendly king famed for his wealth who had tied his colours to the Roman standard. Even her name, which translates as 'victory', has strong associations in terms of imagery with Augustus. Admittedly Boudica

suffered at the hands of unscrupulous officials when her husband died, but other members of the Roman oligarchy also depended for their fate upon the arbitrary whims of unstable emperors and their agents, such as the treason trials during Tiberius' reign. In the aftermath of the rebellion the vengeance of the *legatus* Suetonius Paulinus was regarded as excessive, and following the intervention of Julius Classicianus, the new procurator, he was recalled to Rome.

Cartimandua

In the north, beyond the area where we find Claudio-Neronian forts, lay the territory of the Brigantes, Queen Cartimandua's domain. Here we are on similarly difficult ground locating the precise limits of her kingdom. Ptolemy defined the later *civitas* of that name as stretching from sea to sea, placing nine cities within its territory (Ptol. *Geog.* 2.3.10). This is a large expanse; however the term 'Brigantia' is occasionally used very vaguely, sometimes just to refer to 'the people to the north of the bit we occupy'. For example Seneca, during Nero's reign (c.AD 54), appears to make a distinction between Britons in the south and Brigantians in the north:

Conqueror he of Britons beyond the
Shores of the known sea:
Even the dark-blue-shielded Brigantes
Forced he [Claudius] to bend their neck to the fetters
That Romulus forged, and Ocean himself
To tremble before the Roman dominion.

(Seneca *Apoc.* 12.13–18)

Juvenal too appears to use the term as a broad synonym for northern Britain as a whole rather than a specific *civitas* (Juv. *Sat.* 14.196; 15.124). Tacitus shows confusion when he mixes up the Brigantes with the Iceni in crafting a speech for Calgus to say in the battle of Mons Graupius against the governor Agricola (Tac. *Agr.* 31). Finally the Greek topographer Pausanias throws the location of Brigantia into confusion when he implies that in the Antonine era it was beyond the walls, outside the Roman orbit: 'He sequestered a large part of the territory of the Brigantes in Britannia because they too began to invade with arms the Genunian region, the inhabitants of which were subject to the Romans' (Paus. *Descr. Graec.* 8.43.4; Rivet and Smith 1979: 79). Of 'Genunia' nothing more is heard, though worryingly in the province of Raetia there is a group called the Genauni living next to another group called the Brigantes there. So we may be dealing with another confused literary source or defective manuscript (cf. Hind 1977; Rivet and Smith 1979: 47). In truth, our knowledge of the boundaries of Roman *civitates* is minimal.

Ancient representations of Cartimandua and the Brigantes bring several

themes to the fore. Principally we hear of repeated Roman action to support the queen. First, in AD 48, Ostorius Scapula suppressed trouble there, not mentioning her by name (Tac. *Ann.* 12.32). Secondly, sometime in the 50s civil war ensued, after she split with her husband Venutius. She received support first from auxiliary troops, then from legionaries under Caesius Nasica (Tac. *Ann.* 12.40). Finally, in AD 69, Venutius again led an armed uprising against the queen, though this time auxiliary troops were only able to rescue her, leaving Venutius with the throne (Tac. *Hist.* 3.45). The kingdom was then invaded by Rome upon the arrival of the next governor. The key point here is that it was first and foremost *auxilia* that were sent into kingdoms, but legions could act there too. There are many difficulties with the detailed interpretation of these events, most notoriously a certain degree of similarity in the happenings of the 50s and AD 69, with the divorced husband rebelling twice. This has led to some concerns that Tacitus was simply repeating himself and mixing things up (Hanson and Campbell 1986: 78; Braund 1996: 130).

A second theme, which is worth investigating, is the nature of the kingdom itself. Cartimandua was said to have been of high birth (Tac. *Hist.* 3.45), and it is likely that she was recognised as queen shortly after the Claudian annexation of the southeast. The first surviving mention of her in Tacitus' *Annals* makes it clear an earlier reference is now missing. Presumably this was in the section dealing with the events of AD 37–47 which does not now survive. Cartimandua's relationship to her one-time husband Venutius may give us an insight into the nature of the kingdom itself. Tacitus called him a Brigantian who had married the 'tribal queen' and was said to have been a great strategist. Indeed while joined in matrimony he was said to have remained loyal to Rome. Upon their divorce Venutius had first conducted a civil war; then he 'invaded her kingdom with a powerful force of picked warriors' (Tac. *Ann.* 12.32). The reference suggests Venutius had strong support within certainly one element or region of the Brigantes. If we imagine Cartimandua as a client queen, given her territory and a number of other additions, then these references could easily conjure up an image of a dynastic union between rulers of several smaller domains.

Having met our friendly kings and queen, from both sides of the AD 43 divide, we have seen some of the ways in which they interacted with the Roman state and some of the issues they faced. Let us now see how they represented themselves to others, both through visual media and regalia (chapter 2) and through their use of the force of arms (chapter 3).

THE TRAPPINGS OF POWER

Power has visual corollaries, signs and symbols through which people identify the rank of individuals, either directly in person or at a distance. These are the trappings of power. Some, such as martial regalia, may be functional and obviously denote position and authority; others, such as specific insignia, may be more obscure in their symbolism and meaning and enshrined in contemporary power politics. So how did the friendly kings represent themselves to their subjects?

Coinage was one medium, the power of which was well understood. It conveyed messages to a populace at a distance from its source. One of the generalisations that can be made about coinage is that the presence on one side of it of a living mortal's portrait usually represents monarchy. Throughout the Roman Republic this trend had been narrowly avoided until Julius Caesar placed his own image on a coin. Within weeks he had been assassinated. Monarchy, in the guise of the Principate, was not far away. Once the taboo was broken Brutus had his likeness cast upon a coin, and it was but a small step for Augustus, with the establishment of the Principate, to assume control of the mint. Representations on coin do not always show 'reality' though, and cannot be taken to be a direct reflection of the visual image of the king or Princeps; the view is to a certain extent idealised. Such was the case with the Julio-Claudians, where Augustus aged little on his coins, and his adoptive son and heir, Tiberius, looked remarkably like him, even though there was no blood relationship between the two.

Such was the coinage of Rome, produced in the city or at Lugdunum. However, in the provinces away from the heart of empire imperial portraits also appeared. Most were never quite as good and, while a broad family resemblance can frequently be noted, pinning down exactly which Julio-Claudian the image was meant to represent would often be difficult without an accompanying legend (Burnett *et al.* 1992: 42). The same thing happened *outside* the provincial borders of Rome. On coins of several friendly kings, Julio-Claudian busts appeared. Crawford concluded that this was an indication of their awareness of the power of the Princeps, rather than being a result of any official demand or request from Rome (Crawford 1985: 273).

We can see the same phenomenon in the southeast of Britain. Not only had coins from Tincomarus and Tasciovanus onwards conveyed images of the Augustan revolution, but they also started to carry naturalistic portraits, many of which are 'Julio-Claudian' in style, though none of which looks precisely like a classic portrait of Augustus or his successors (Creighton 2000: 176). Many of these portraits have the name of a British ruler around them, so whether the image is being used as a depiction of the distant Princeps or as a sign representing the local friendly king is ambiguous. None the less, the use of such portraits on 'British' coin would have made the transition to Claudian coin all the more easy, as both had carried similar likenesses of powerful individuals.

If coinage was how kings represented themselves at a distance, sometimes identifying themselves with Roman images of power, how did they appear face to face, in the flesh? What trappings of power marked them out? Various literary sources suggest that upon recognition by Rome (*appellatio*) a king would receive gifts, many of which were symbols of power. Alas, none of these references relates to Britain; however what we can do is see what was given to other monarchs, and then look in the archaeological and numismatic record to determine if similar objects can be found amongst the treasures of the Commian and Tasciovanian dynasties.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus first records the giving of gifts in the early days of the Republic to Lars Porsenna, a neighbouring monarch, recognised in a treaty of friendship. Here the king was awarded an ivory chair, a sceptre, a gold crown and a triumphal robe (Dion. Hal. 5.35.1). In these early days the gifts evoked the regalia of the deposed Roman kings, but as time passed many of these trappings were adopted by the high officials of state in the Republic itself. A bit later Masinissa, instrumental in Scipio Africanus' defeat of Hannibal (203 BC), was awarded 'two purple military cloaks, each with a golden brooch, and tunics having the broad stripe, two horses with their trappings, two sets of arms with cuirasses for a horseman, and tents and field furniture such as were customarily furnished to a consul' (Liv. 30.17.13). By this date these gifts were losing their association with monarchy and gaining an evocation of the imagery of a Roman magistrate at war. Amongst the objects that came to be given to friendly kings were: curule chairs (*sellae curules*), ivory sceptres and *togae praetextae* (Liv. 42.14; Polyb. 32.1.3). Braund (1984: 29) saw a shift in emphasis take place under the early Principate from Gaius through to Vespasian, in how these gifts were described. By this date they were explicitly referred to as *ornamenta praetoria*, or more rarely *ornamenta consularia*, unambiguously associating them with those of Rome's chief magistrates, suggesting clearly that in the Princeps's mind both provincial governors and kings fulfilled similar roles and could be of similar status (Rémy 1976–7).

The curule chair or *sella curulis* was an emblem of authority in its own right, said to have been adopted along with various other royal insignia from the

Etruscans (Liv. 1.8; 1.20). During the Republic the permission to sit upon this chair was restricted to consuls, praetors, curule aediles and the censors – all the chief magistrates of the state. As the Republic gave way to the Empire, this right was adopted by the Princesps. The chair functioned not just as a piece of furniture; its very presence evoked the authority of its incumbent, whether seated in it or not. As a symbol it was displayed in its own right on public occasions in the circus or theatre (Liv. 2.31; Suet. *Octav.* 43; Dio 58.4.4). Away from Rome it was used by individuals exercising proconsular or propraetorian powers. To this list can be added selected friendly kings.

Armed with these gifts one must wonder how different a king and a Roman governor looked, enthroned in their chairs. To our minds we contrast Roman and Briton, but to a native before the majesty of either a king or a governor – each wearing the regalia of triumphal generals – the visual differences between the two may not have been great. As a friendly kingdom was transformed into a province it seems there could have been a high degree of continuity in the visual language of the court.

On many of the coins of friendly kings regalia are displayed. Interpreting these is often difficult. Sometimes a good argument can be made for suggesting that they represent gifts from Rome; on the other hand they may be local insignia imitating the trappings of power of the Roman world. None the less, the effect upon subjects in their kingdoms would have been the same.

In Mauretania Ptolemy was awarded a triumphal robe and an ivory sceptre in AD 24 (Tac. *Ann.* 4.26.4). These appear to be shown on some of his coins (Figure 2.1). His father, Juba II, also displayed a set of regalia on some of his coins, but none of the literary sources say explicitly that these were gifts from Rome; however, the timing of the issue is suggestive. Juba II's coins date to some time not long after AD 6. This happens to be shortly after a victory by him and the Roman general Cossus against some rebels, the Gaetuli, in the south (Fishwick and Shaw 1976); so an award of gifts may have come in the wake of that. In both images the chair or throne is central and clearly important.

On the coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom two coin types also show a curule chair and other objects. In this case the coin types became fossilised and were retained by various kings throughout the first and second centuries AD. In addition to the chair a staff can be seen. Ivory sceptres are mentioned as gifts; however this one appears to be topped by a small bust on a globe. This object is rare and exceptional. Few busts are known mounted on globes, and with one exception none is from the first or early second century. The exception comes from a nineteenth-century find believed to be from a railway cutting near Colchester (Figure 2.2, Toynbee 1964: 40). Here a small bust was found, mounted on a globe, which itself had been remounted on a bell-shaped object. In terms of scale it is similar in size to the image on the Bosporan coin. The bust was identified as being a young Gaius, but the

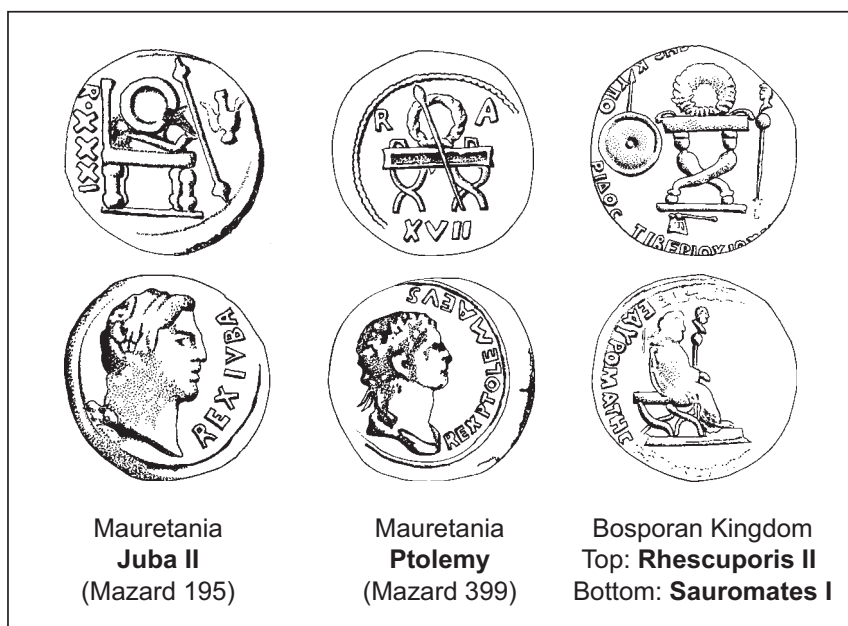


Figure 2.1 Representation of regalia on the coinage of friendly kingdoms

identification is by no means secure, and referring to it just as early Julio-Claudian is probably safest. In terms of visual language the representation of the emperor's head on a globe showing world domination is an image redolent of power (Nicolet 1991: 36–7). The globe appears on *denarii* associated with Caesar (RRC 494/39a; 480/6); it could be seen being trampled underfoot by both the figure of Roma (RRC 449/4) and Victory herself (RRC 546/4). The message in each case was the same: Rome was supreme. As a gift to a friendly king, the image of an imperial bust on a globe linked the king with his distant but omnipresent sponsor and guarantor. It clearly demonstrated where power lay to back up the king in his kingdom.

Evidence for chairs, and a *sella curulis* in particular, has been found in the Lexden tumulus in Camulodunum. Within this high-status grave, dating to some time around 15–1 BC, a large amount of corroded ironwork was found which Foster (1986: 61, 109) identified plausibly as part of a folding chair. The identification is not absolutely certain; none the less it offers the most convincing interpretation of the remains, and in the light of the discussion above is by no means unlikely. Together with it was found a small sandalled foot, which may have been on one of the legs, as paralleled in an example from a Claudian burial in Nijmegen (Jitta *et al.* 1973).

Another piece of furniture came from the Folly Lane burial overlooking



Figure 2.2 Bust identified as Gaius, found near Colchester in the nineteenth century (photo: © Colchester Museums)

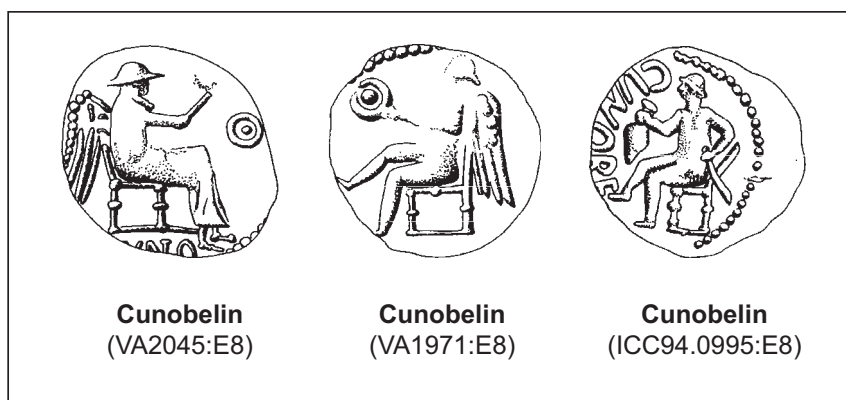


Figure 2.3 Coins of Cunobelin and Victory on chairs

Verulamium (Niblett 1999). This high-status burial dates to some time around or just after the Claudian annexation. Selected remains from the funerary pyre were thrown back into the burial chamber; amongst these were several lathe-turned pieces of ivory, a bronze foot and an iron shank. These potentially came from the leg of a chair or a couch, where the ivory discs fitted over an iron rod that gave rigidity to the leg. In this case there was a preference for interpreting the remains as being from a couch, since it would be possible to imagine the corpse laid out on it in the funerary chamber (cf. Pearson's reconstruction: Figure 7.9). A survey of other couches showed that comparable examples came from the first century BC and the earlier part of the first century AD, in which case the Folly Lane piece would be at the tail-end of the series, but not impossible (Nicholas 1979, 1991), though appearing to be almost 'antique' Augustan furniture by that date. However, there is the possibility that it is not a couch at all. The ivory knobs in the Folly Lane burial create a strong resonance with a series of images on some of Cunobelin's coins. Cunobelin never issued types displaying gifts in the same way as Ptolemy, Juba II and other kings, but he did mint several which depicted a chair in which either he or Victory sat. The legs of the chair clearly have knobs on, in the same fashion as the ivory pieces from Folly Lane (Figure 2.3).

Two of these coins show what appears to be winged Victory sitting in the chair. They are related to a Roman type (RRC 343/1), but are not direct copies. In one she is holding a short rod or sceptre, whilst in the other she is clasp ing a dot-in-ring motif, which may represent a torc, *patena* or wreath. There is a third coin that is clearly part of the same set of images. This one has a male seated on an identical 'chair with knobs on' and he has his right foot raised slightly in the air, just as 'Victory' does on one of the others.

However, instead of holding a sceptre or torc (two clear symbols of authority), he is carrying a sword in one hand and an amphora in the other. On all these images Cunobelin's name is plainly inscribed. Together these coins clearly display the accoutrements of power, and the interchangeability of this figure and Cunobelin is directly paralleled in the way Augustus himself used the image of Victory:

Inside the curia . . . Octavian set up the original statue of Victory, an Early Hellenistic work which came from Tarrentum, and she was regarded as his personal patron goddess. Probably Octavian at first had it mounted on a globe, the symbol of his claim to sole power, but [after Actium] the goddess was given Egyptian booty (in the form of captured weapons) in her hand and was set atop a pillar at the most conspicuous spot in the council chamber, behind the seats of the consuls. From now on she would be present at every meeting of the Senate.

(Zanker 1988: 79–80)

The coin images suggest that Cunobelin represented himself using a strategy similar to Augustus, employing the figure of a deity to stand in for his presence. Had an ivory throne been a gift to the kings of the Eastern Dynasty, it is not surprising that it might have been ceremonially destroyed in the burial at Folly Lane, which may well have been that of the last friendly king of the region. Future governors would require a *sella curulis*, not a high-backed throne.

Other survivals from Lexden included some thin filaments of gold ribbon, which had been wound round some form of textile (Foster 1986: 92). A parallel for this thread comes from the supposed grave of Philip of Macedon at Vergina (Andronikos 1978: 66; Fitzpatrick 1989: 406); here the gold was woven with purple into a series of floral and figural motifs. Alas, no evidence like that survives from Lexden. Exactly what the textile came from is open to speculation. It could have been from soft furnishings from the folding chair or couch in the burial, or it could have been from a garment, possibly even a *toga picta*. Also from the grave was some silver in the form of what Foster (1986: 88) described as stylised wheat or cereal stems, which could also have been sewn onto a fabric backing. The description as wheat is tempting as it is a constant leitmotif on a lot of the region's later coinage under Cunobelin. However, since the stems curve, and since the 'grains' are set opposed to each other rather than alternately, I think an interpretation of them as laurel branches is more likely; again a clear symbol of status. Many other objects were found in the grave, which could have been gifts, but the most evocative is the silver medallion of Augustus himself (Figure 2.4). The bust is of the same type as was found on the coinage of around 18–16 BC, only shortly before the suspected date of the grave (15–1 BC).

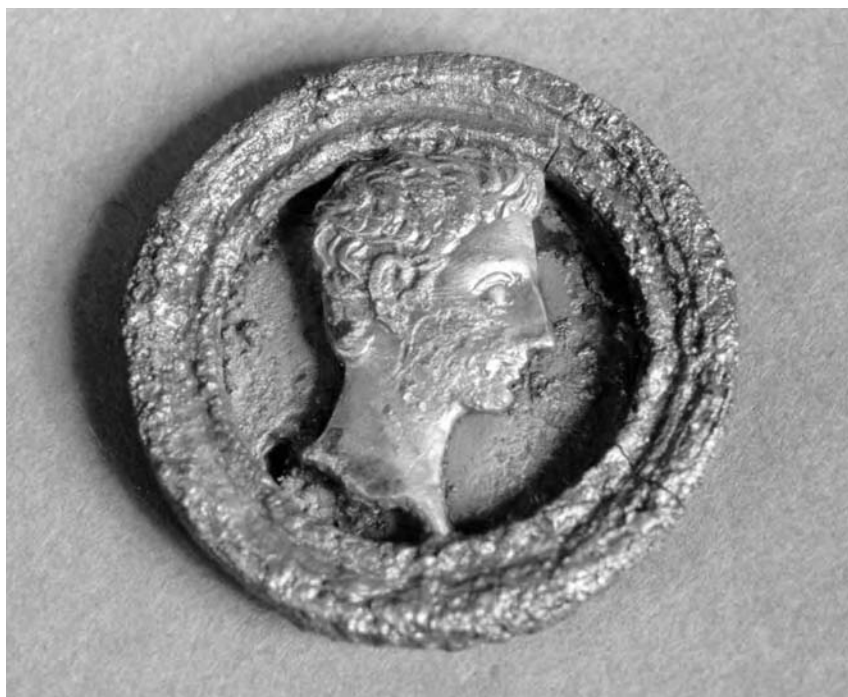


Figure 2.4 Silver medallion of Augustus from the Lexden tumulus, Colchester (photo: © Colchester Museums)

Another collection of objects, which may have been gifts from Rome, is the find of gold jewellery from near Winchester in 2000 (Figure 2.5; Pitts 2001; Hill *et al.* 2004). Metal detection on a hillside that had otherwise produced no signs of settlement revealed two torcs, two bracelets and two pairs of fastening brooches with a linking chain. The brooches were golden copies of *Knotenfibeln*, a late La Tène design dating from around 80–30 BC. The choice of the two pairs of gold brooches is redolent of the gift given to Masinissa, where they were accompanied by two purple cloaks (Liv. 30.17.13). These La Tène style artefacts hardly seem like the kind of object which might be an imperial gift given to a British leader, but the golden torcs associated with them were exceptional. Whereas torcs *per se* are a common feature of the Late Iron Age, particularly in areas such as Norfolk, these ones were made using a technique and an alloy that were both very alien and associated with an origin in the Mediterranean world. They were made from a series of interlocked loops of gold to create a flexible snake-like cord. The manufacturing technique was hitherto unknown in Britain and suggested influence from the classical world in its design. This idea was reinforced



Figure 2.5 The Winchester hoard (photo: © Copyright The British Museum)



Figure 2.6 Two children on the *Ara Pacis* wearing torcs. Left, eastern 'prince' from the south frieze; right, western 'prince' from the north frieze (Photo: © Ray Laurence)

by the metallurgical analysis that showed they had been made from highly refined gold, again suggesting a Mediterranean origin. A Mediterranean-designed torc in northern Europe may appear a curiosity, but the importance of the symbolism of the torc was clearly understood in Rome. On Augustus' *Ara Pacis* itself we can see an image of two children in the procession with Augustus, both thought to represent *obsides*, and both wearing torcs round their necks (Figure 2.6; Rose 1990). Such a gift would seem entirely appropriate to a returning British prince coming home, representing both northern European symbolism and Roman power and technology. The dating of the find is problematic since it was found in isolation, while its interpretation is always going to be more challenging than material clearly contextualised in a rich burial, but the possibility remains that it was an early high-status gift to one of the Commian dynasty or someone of that genre.

The objects from Folly Lane, Lexden and elsewhere, when considered together, make up a small but significant assemblage of highly symbolic material culture from the Roman world.

We have two ways of interpreting these objects: either as gifts from Rome, through which the British kings and their families demonstrated their association with the Princes; or else as direct imitations of the insignia of the

elite of the Roman world. Just as we cannot be sure that the regalia displayed on Juba II and Bosporan coinage were gifts from Rome, these rulers none the less appeared to have objects which emulated the symbols of Roman authority.

This blurring of regalia between kings and the subsequent Roman governors would have made for relatively easy continuity between one and the other. Indeed in terms of direct presence and representation, one wonders exactly how a British audience would have perceived the differences between Cunobelin or Cogidubnus and a Roman governor. After all, the insignia would have been comparable; if both had been raised in Rome their upbringing and education may have rendered their bodily dispositions similar; their use of imagery would be alike; and their judicial authority over all but Roman citizens would have been comparable. In terms of the regalia of power in the southeast, the significance of AD 43 or the death of Cogidubnus may have been negligible.

Governors and kings were born of the same stock, forceful and ambitious men who desired power. In the Republic senators could borrow money to bribe, lobby and secure for themselves a province to govern; once in position, that position could be exploited to make a fortune to retire on, to pay back the loans and if need be pay to ensure an acquittal at a trial for abuse of power. Braund suggests kings were little different, many borrowing large sums of money to secure recognition, aiming to pay it back once the rich pickings of rule were theirs (e.g. Auletes borrowing money from Pompey and Caesar amongst others to seek ratification of the throne in Egypt, and thereafter draining his kingdom dry: Braund 1984: 59). Kings and governors were not so different; both sets of men were cut from the same cloth.

FORCE, VIOLENCE AND THE CONQUEST

A king, being given title to a kingdom by Rome and all the trappings of power to go with it, is all very well, but it is of nought unless the monarch has the ability to resort to the ultimate sanction of force to back up his claim. Violence, or the threat of violence, cannot have been far from the surface as the Commian and Tasciovanian dynasties secured their dominion over the populace of the southeast. Killing people was certainly one method of getting rid of political dissent, but a far more profitable way was slavery, a product that Strabo attests was exported from Britain in the Augustan period (Strab. *Geog.* 4.5.1). But what did institutional violence look like in Late Iron Age Britain? Were these kings supported in their role by a chariot-riding woad-painted militia, complete with lime-washed hair and swirling tattoos; or did this institution of ‘friends and allies of Rome’ lead to changes in the appearance and articulation of institutionalised violence?

Kingdoms or republics that exist in the shadow of empires or superpowers can often rely upon ‘support’ from their more powerful allies who have a vested interest in their stability. That support can take a wide variety of forms: foreigners might be trained at imperial army colleges alongside other soldiers; arms sales might equip them in a similar manner to the imperial troops; military advisers might visit the kingdoms to assist in local training on the ground; or direct assistance might be given to prop up a regime which for whatever reason the local populace have turned against. None of these phenomena are remotely unusual in the modern day; nor were they in the Roman world. We have seen how the symbolism of Roman power and authority was adopted in the kingdoms of the southeast, and also how these individuals were intrinsically tied up in the political structure of the Principate. Rome had an investment in these kingdoms, and that investment worked not just on the level of treaties, but in terms of military engagement as well.

The clearest icons of Roman power were, of course, the legions and *auxilia*. In the traditional representation of Roman Britain, the arrival of the army marks the difference between Iron Age and Roman Britain. AD 43 is the key date at which the transition is perceived as taking place; and yet this did not mark the end of kingship in Britain, nor was it the date when the *civitates* were

probably formally constituted; but it is when the Claudian legions landed. In this sense, AD 43 appears to mark a significant change in the articulation of power in Britain. However, again I think that the authority of a precise historical date and event is obscuring a much broader continuum of change. Indeed I believe that 'Roman' troops may have been present in Britain for a while before, but because of our fixation with one particular reading of history, we have blinded ourselves to the archaeological evidence that may indicate this. It is not that we have rejected such suggestions; it is that we have never even considered them.

Knowledge of Roman military matters and the use of force would have been relatively well understood in southeast Britain in the early first century AD. Part of this would have been historical, the memory of Caesar's conquest. However, in Gaul many of the warriors of the defeated and allied communities went on to fight as auxiliary units in the civil wars that engulfed the Roman world. If Gauls had gone to fight, it is more than likely that some Britons had as well; if so, many back in Britain could have had direct experience of fighting against and alongside Roman troops. None the less, what I am interested in here is not just the memory of individual life experiences in Britain, but the articulation of power, which means examining the mindset of the ruling individuals, and how they implemented force. Again we must recall the range of experiences to which *obsides* were exposed, and then consider if the archaeological evidence in Britain offers any support for the notion that British 'royalty' shows signs of having been treated in the same way.

Many *obsides* spent time not just in Rome, but also with the Roman army on campaign. This was a learning experience which some of them turned to their own advantage years later. One such was Jugurtha, the illegitimate nephew of Micipsa, King of Numidia. In his own kingdom he was overshadowing Micipsa's own two sons, so he was sent away. In this case he went, with a Numidian contingent, to assist Scipio Aemilianus in his siege of Numantia in northwest Spain. Here he proved his capabilities, won much admiration and even learnt Latin (Sall. *BJ* 7); but more importantly, he learnt the art of war. So impressive were his achievements that he became Micipsa's heir. Upon finally becoming king he also put this learning experience into effect when circumstances drew him into conflict with Rome herself, during which he proved a formidable enemy, knowing and understanding Roman strategy. We know more about Jugurtha than anyone else since an entire volume about the wars survives for us written by Sallust. However, remarks about other *obsides'* adventures with the Roman army are scarce, as they are usually only inconsequential asides in narratives fulfilling another purpose. Juba II of Mauretania served in various campaigns during his youth with Octavian; however this is only learnt from a passing comment in a history summing up what happened to all the children of Cleopatra, since Juba was married to one of her daughters as a reward for his service (Dio 51.15.6). Another foreigner engaged in the Roman army was the Parthian Ornospadēs.

He had served in the campaign of AD 35 when Tiridates III was sent from Rome to claim the Parthian throne from Artabanus. 'Formerly an exile, he had seen distinguished service under Tiberius in the Dalmatian war [AD 6–9] and received Roman citizenship, and later, restored to his king's friendship and high favour, had become governor of Mesopotamia' (Tac. *Ann.* 6.37).

It was not just *obsides* from Mediterranean and Eastern kingdoms who fought in the Roman armies. One of Rome's most implacable foes was Arminius of the Cherusci, author of the defeat of Varus' legions in the Teutoburgian Wood in AD 9, perhaps the greatest military disaster of Augustus' reign (Schlüter 1999). During the subsequent campaigns of Germanicus undertaken to restore Roman dignity by recapturing the lost standards and burying the dead, the two armies came face to face at one point across the river Weser. This meeting gave Tacitus the opportunity to provide one of his set-piece verbal confrontations between Arminius on the one hand, and his brother Flavus on the other. Flavus was fighting with Germanicus' army, and had gained earlier distinction, losing an eye fighting under Tiberius. Whereas Flavus was made to speak of Rome's greatness and the emperor's wealth, Arminius dwells on patriotism and freedom. These are rhetorical themes that recur continuously in Tacitus. None the less, it is interesting to learn that when the conversation descends into mutual insults 'Arminius was to be seen, shouting threats and challenges to fight – a good many of them in Latin, since he had formerly commanded a Cheruscan force in the Roman army' (Tac. *Ann.* 2.10.3). Indeed there is other evidence to suggest that Arminius not only was a one-time Roman citizen, but also held Equestrian rank (Vell. *Pat.* 2.118.2). Gaining experience of the Roman army was by no means a preserve of the *obsides* from the Mediterranean or eastern fringes of the Empire.

The adoption of Roman dress and methods

Aquiring first-hand knowledge of the Roman army in the field was one matter. Application at home was another. On a number of occasions we find foreign troops not only using Roman methods of fighting, but also on occasions wearing Roman armour. For example, Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria spent twelve years in Rome in the late second century BC. When he returned to rule his kingdom he paraded his troops equipped with Roman armour (Liv. 41.20; Polyb. 30.25.3; Braund 1984: 15).

Let us turn our attention back to Britain. If a similar process occurred here, we might expect to find traces of Roman armour in high-status 'native' burials, or on imagery representing these individuals on media such as coinage. One coin of Cunobelin depicts a military helmet (VA2091:E8); others allegedly show chain mail on horsemen, though in reality the details are unclear. However, the most obvious material to be found in burials with military associations is chain mail. This is known from three burials and one other site in

the southeast: Lexden (Laver 1927: 248; Foster 1986: 82), Folly Lane (Niblett 1999: 159), a grave at Baldock (Burleigh 1982), and fragments from the Temple at Hayling Island (King and Soffe 1991). But was this Roman chain mail or 'Celtic'? The cultural associations of mail are decidedly ambiguous. While some classical authors associated it with 'the Celts' (Var. *De Ling. Lat.* 5.24.16), it was none the less worn on occasions by wealthy Romans (Polyb. 6.23.15). Archaeologically it has been found from securely 'barbarian' contexts in third-century BC Romania and Czechoslovakia, but also from clearly 'Roman' contexts such as the army siege works around Numantia (concluded 133 BC). So chain mail *per se* is not especially significant. None the less, if the technical detail of its manufacture is examined then we can say more. Recent reanalysis of the Folly Lane, Baldock and Lexden finds by Gilmour shows all to have been made using the same method, with alternating rows of riveted and plain rings (Niblett 1999: 165). Fitzpatrick (1989: 337) noted the association of the mail in the Lexden tumulus with pieces of leather and types of buckle also found with military equipment, and concluded that it might come from Roman *lorica hamata*. If so, then these are not the only fragments of *lorica hamata* found outside the Empire. A comparable piece comes from another grave of a potential friendly king, though this time from second-century BC Numidia, and the 'Royal Tomb' of Es Soumâa in Algeria (Waurick 1979). It would appear that friendly kings were happy to appear on their funerary biers wearing or accompanied by their Roman-style military costume.

Other objects have been documented outside graves. A sheath from a Roman military axe (*dolabrum*) was excavated in Southwark associated with ceramics of 25 BC–AD 25 (Beard and Cowan 1988: 376; Perring 1991: 3). This is not alone: at Fishbourne a copper alloy piece of openwork from the top of a Roman scabbard was found. This fitting belonging to a Mainz type *gladius* was recovered from the bottom of a Late Iron Age ditch, associated with ceramics of 10 BC–AD 25 (Manley and Rudkin 2003; see also below, p. 59).

Another discovery that could also suggest selected Britons dressed up in the Roman fashion is the recent find from near Market Harborough in Leicestershire of a silver gilded military parade helmet. This example is possibly similar to the one found at Xanten, though a lot of painstaking conservation work is going to be required before a full reconstruction of it can be created. The helmet came to light through work by the Leicestershire County Council Community Archaeology Project, and resulted in excavations by the University of Leicester Archaeology Services directed by Vicki Priest that were concluded in 2003 and will be published in due course. The helmet was found in association with a series of Iron Age and Roman Republican coin hoards (Williams and Hobbs 2003). There were two short stretches of ditch creating a boundary with an entrance through it. To the west of the entrance were 14 *in situ* coin hoards. These were predominantly made

up of Corieltavian issues, though including a few coins from the Commian dynasty and of Cunobelin. In total there were 3,000–4,000 coins. Associated with these were some Republican *denarii*, yet no Imperial issues came from this area. In terms of material culture the assemblage is pre-Claudian. However, on the east side of the enclosure was a spread of disarticulated animal bone, and more gold coins, but this time exclusively related to the Commian dynasty. From the boundary itself came the military parade helmet. The difference in the nature of the coin assemblages on either side of the entrance is very suggestive of the site being a formal setting for the mediation of relations between the domains of the Commian dynasty and the peoples of the East Midlands; and the finding of a gilded military parade helmet in the boundary, filled with coins, gives colour to how individuals represented themselves during that mediation. Imagining whether this belonged to a member of the Commian dynasty, whether it belonged to a local leader who had served in a senior capacity in the *auxilia*, or one of a number of other possibilities, is one of the joys and frustrations of the incompleteness of the archaeological record.

The use of Roman aid

So far we have some evidence that the British friendly kings wore some of the trappings of Roman military costume, though the extent to which their retinues did is unclear. However, the relationship between the kings and the Roman army was not just one of acquired knowledge and imitation. It was also one of direct military assistance; Rome could and did send armies in to help her friends.

In Mauretania a series of colonies had been established during the brief period between Bocchus's death in 33 BC and the kingdom being handed over to Juba II eight years later. From here on the kingdom was 'independent' until the death of Ptolemy in AD 40. However, direct military intervention happened repeatedly because of unrest caused by nomads in the south of the territory. Intermittent fighting turned into a larger-scale revolt under the leadership of Tacfarinas in AD 17:

[who] had deserted from service as a Roman auxiliary. His first followers were vagabonds and marauders who came for loot. Then he organised them into army units and formations . . . Tacfarinas retained in camp an elite force equipped in Roman fashion, which he instructed in discipline and obedience.

(Tac. *Ann.* 2.52)

From this period down to AD 24, a series of Roman generals were called in via Africa Proconsularis to assist in quelling trouble (Dio 55.28.3; Tac. *Ann.* 3.20; 3.32; 3.73; 4.23).

While some interventions simply involved Roman troops entering the friendly king's territory temporarily, they could also end up being garrisoned there more permanently. Sometimes kings needed an eye keeping on them (Braund 1984: 94). The highest-profile case of this was Egypt. We first find a garrison installed in Alexandria in 55 BC to protect Auletes, whom Gabinius had just restored to the throne (Dio 42.3.3). The military presence there remained until Pompey's arrival, closely followed by Caesar. When Caesar left, Egypt had two new rulers, Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIV, along with whom he left three or four legions (Suet. *DJ* 77). The function of the legions was:

to give support to the power of kings who could have neither the affection of their own people, because they had remained loyal supporters of Caesar, nor the authority of long usage, since they had been made rulers only a few days before. At the same time [Caesar] thought it important for the prestige of the empire and for the common good, if the rulers were to remain loyal, that they should have the protection of our forces, while if they proved ungrateful, these same forces could constrain them.

(*Bell. Alex.* 33)

Only a short time later, in 40 BC, Herod was granted the throne of Judaea. When he finally arrived in Jerusalem in 37 BC, it was at the head of a Roman legion kindly provided to secure his claim (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 15.71–3).

We also have examples of military assistance from Claudius' reign. The first comes from the Bosporean Kingdom, where Claudius' nominee, Mithradates VIII, was replaced by his brother, Cotys I. This transition was aided by Roman forces led by Aulus Didius Gallus. After a while some of these were withdrawn, but a few battalions remained under the command of another Roman, Gaius Julius Aquila. As it happens, in AD 49 these troops proved vital when the ousted Mithradates tried to retake his throne by force. In the description of the conflict, we discover, not surprisingly, the 'native' Bosporean contingents are described as 'armed in the Roman fashion' (Tac. *Ann.* 12.15). A few years later, in AD 51, we also find a Roman garrison stationed in another friendly kingdom mixed up in a little local difficulty which threatened to escalate. This time the location was Armenia, where the Roman commander Caelius Pollio was leading an auxiliary unit (Tac. *Ann.* 12.45). The details need not concern us; the importance is that the presence of Roman auxiliary garrisons and very occasionally legions was by no means exceptional in friendly kingdoms.

Finally, the distinction between native and Roman military forces could become totally blurred, as with the example of Legio XXII Deiotariana. This legion had its origins in the army put together by King Deiotarus, leader of the Tolistobogii in Turkey. He had been made king of the Galatians

under Pompey in 63/2 BC, rewarding him for his loyalty in the war against Mithradates. Roman military advisers had helped Deiotarus put together and train 12,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry in 48 BC. Unfortunately, the unit was defeated in a battle against King Pharnaces of Pontus, but the survivors were regrouped into a legion that fought alongside Caesar's troops in the battle of Zela the following year. In 25 BC, the kingdom was bequeathed to Augustus, who integrated the formations into the Roman army as Legio XXII Deiotariana (*Bel. Alex.* 34–41, 65–77; Cic. *Pro Rege Deiotaro*; Keppie 1990).

The conclusion that should be reached is that friendly kingdoms *could* have local forces adopting Roman military styles of dress and tactics. Also, genuine Roman auxiliary or legionary units *could* be and *were* garrisoned in friendly kingdoms.

Let us turn our attention back to Britain. After the Claudian annexation of the southeast, the existence of various friendly kingdoms proved no bar to Roman troops operating within them. In the north in Brigantia, Cartimandua was maintained on her throne with the use of Roman aid (*Tac. Hist.* 3.45). In the east, the Icenii were disarmed in AD 47, leading to a small revolt, despite being part of the kingdom of Prasutagus (*Tac. Ann.* 12.31, though for all we know Prasutagus may only have been made king after this event). In the south it has been suggested that the military base at Fishbourne was set up in order to keep an eye on the kingdom of Cogidubnus (though see below). So friendly kings and queens after AD 43 had Roman troops in their territories, but what about earlier? Do we have any evidence of a Roman military presence in the friendly domains of the Commian or Tasciovanian dynasties? Augustus had certainly thought of sending expeditions to Britain when the people there had failed to come to terms with him in 27–6 BC (*Dio* 53.22 and 25). However since a settlement was eventually reached with friendly kings making dedications on the Capitol (*Strab. Geog.* 4.5.3) and other suppliant kings visiting Rome (*Res Gestae* 32), one wonders whether all of this was achieved without any 'encouragement'.

One thing we have constantly to recall is the patchy nature of the historical record relating to Britain. It is far from perfect. By no means did all military activity hit the headlines in Rome and make it into the history books; and even when history was composed, not all of it survived. There are two specific gaps that hinder the study of Britain. First, the chapters of Tacitus' *Annals* relating to Gaius' reign and the first years of Claudius' are all missing. Not only that, but a section is also missing from Dio (59.25). Dio structured his work thematically, and it is infuriating that a missing section comes in the part where he is dealing with the forthcoming annexation of one friendly kingdom, Mauretania, and restarts with Gaius' legions on the edge of the English Channel picking up seashells. Whatever he had to say about Britain was severely truncated. None the less, there are some hints that Gaius had a real military engagement with Britain.

Literary tradition is very hostile towards Gaius. Historical sources belittled

his achievements in a retrospective justification of his assassination. However, he had raised several new legions for his planned conquests in Britain and Germany; and triremes had been built to sail the armies across (later forwarded to Rome for his 'triumph'). Suetonius also adds that a tall lighthouse had been constructed to guide shipping across the channel (Suet. *Cal.* 46). The infrastructure for a real campaign appears to have been put in place; indeed all of this must have facilitated Claudius' later venture greatly. Despite this, historical sources sought to denigrate Gaius' achievements, hence Suetonius naturally presented Gaius' celebration of a triumph over Britain as a deceit, telling the story of Gaius drawing his men up on the beach and ordering them to pick up seashells in some kind of mock conquest of Ocean (Suet. *Cal.* 46; Dio 59.25.1–5). Defeating Ocean was a standard way of metaphorically representing conquest on the periphery of the classical world (Braund 1996: 95). Whether the story depicts an actual event, or whether it is a malicious fiction designed to emphasise the madness of the emperor in order to legitimate his assassination, the truth is now lost to us. Analysing and reanalysing our historical sources will not enable us to untangle this particular issue (Barrett 1989). However, there is an ambiguous phrase in Dio that suggests some Roman soldiers may have campaigned in Britain:

[AD 39] . . . [Gaius] set out for Gaul, ostensibly because the hostile Gauls were stirring up trouble . . . When he reached his destination, he did no harm to any of the enemy – in fact, as soon as he had proceeded a short distance beyond the Rhine, he returned, and then set out as if to conduct a campaign against Britain, but turned back from the ocean's edge, showing no little vexation at his lieutenants *who won some slight success* – but upon the subject peoples, the allies, and the citizens he inflicted vast and innumerable ills.

(Dio 59.21.2–3)

We fool ourselves when we believe we can precisely know what happened in antiquity. First, it was in Claudius' interests to play down any involvement Gaius had in Britain, and it was similarly in Flavian interests too. The young Vespasian had been part of Claudius' annexation of Britain; Claudius' invasion could be represented as a Flavian conquest – so as far as posterity was concerned Gaius had no place in it, whatever reality was. Secondly, as we have seen, passing comments in the literature also provide evidence of auxiliary garrisons in friendly kingdoms elsewhere, but these are rarely mentioned unless the spotlight of history was focused upon them – they were not, after all, the citizen army. All of this should be enough to make us realise that it is quite possible that some Roman military presence existed in Britain before the Claudian invasion – or that local kings modelled some of their own forces along similar lines. Perhaps we should reread the evidence bearing this idea in mind.

Rereading the archaeology

Archaeological sites have always been read and interpreted within certain preconceived views of history. While archaeological traces of Caesar's visit have been sought in vain, all later sites and equipment with military connotations have automatically been related to the Claudian conquest or subsequent campaigns, since this is ostensibly when the Roman military next impacted on Britain. However, the rereading of the evidence above suggests other possibilities. First, friendly kings often dressed and formed their own troops 'in the Roman fashion'. Secondly, Roman auxiliary forces and legions did often interfere in friendly kingdoms, not just to support regimes in times of crisis, but also longer term on occasion. Finally, some of Gaius' troops may have had some involvement in Britain prior to the Claudian adventure, although our historical sources are by no means clear-cut. The implication is that any archaeological evidence we have always assumed to be Claudian may potentially be earlier. It is only the assumption that it *cannot* have been earlier that has led us to ignore such possibilities. What is more worrying is that historical 'event horizons' such as the German campaigns of Augustus and the Claudian conquest of Britain have over generations been used to create our ceramic and metalwork chronologies. Our archaeological sequence is therefore underpinned with historical assumptions that may not be secure. What I wish to do in the following sections is to take three case studies of well-known sites, and to see if they can be reinterpreted in the light of the discussion above.

Case study 1: Fishbourne

On the south coast lies a site that has been built into our narratives of the Claudian invasion and the friendly kingdom of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus. This is Fishbourne Roman Palace. Excavations started in the 1960s under Barry Cunliffe. However, they did not stop then but continued, most notably in the 1990s conducted by the Sussex Archaeological Society, under the direction of John Manley and David Rudkin. Both a reconsideration of the earlier excavations and results from the latest ones are shedding new light upon the Late Iron Age background to this 'royal' site and are challenging its original interpretation and place within our narratives of the conquest of Britain.

Cunliffe's excavations in the 1960s revealed a sequence of building that he believed started at the time of the Claudian conquest. The first phase he described as a Claudian supply base (Period 1a). This was followed by a timber building (Period 1b), and the Neronian 'Proto-palace' (Period 1c). All of this culminated in the construction of a richly furnished palace in the Flavian period thought to be the home of Cogidubnus or his heirs (Figure 3.1; Cunliffe 1971a and b). Cunliffe explicitly interpreted the archaeology within an historic framework, linking the site to specific armies and individuals:

During the first period of occupation, c.AD 43–4, the site was developed as a military supply base used in conjunction with the main camp thought to be at Chichester. A likely context for these installations is the campaign fought by the Legio II Augusta under Vespasian, which in AD 43–4 sweeps across southwest Britain. Fishbourne and Chichester were at this time well within the pro-Roman territory ruled by the client king Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus: as such the area would have been suitable for a rear-ward supply camp in the initial stages of the advance.

(Cunliffe 1971a: xxv)

The supply base interpretation received reinforcement from Hind (1989), who provided an alternative reading of the historical accounts of the Claudian landings to suggest these might have been at Chichester harbour rather than in Kent, as traditionally assumed. This hypothesis was clearly argued and has generally been accepted as a strong possibility. Cunliffe's original interpretation was reinforced by subsequent excavations at the site, all of which have until recently remained faithful to his original phasing and interpretation (Cunliffe *et al.* 1996; Cunliffe 1998; Manley 2002), but fresh evidence and approaches are calling for a reappraisal of the site.

Cunliffe's original interpretation was a natural one, 'natural' in the sense that it was entirely consistent within the state of knowledge in the late 1960s. First, the solid gravel roads of Period 1a immediately evoked Roman parallels. Where else in Iron Age Britain did you have metalled surfaces 0.07 to 0.30m thick? Secondly, the rectangular timber structures recalled parallels with Roman buildings, particularly military granaries. Timber Building 1 comprised a series of six roughly parallel foundation trenches, each about 0.6m wide, in which upright timbers had stood:

Such an arrangement is identical to that suggested for the buildings found at Richborough in an early military context, where the super-structures seem to have been granaries, the raised floor keeping the corn away from the damp ground and allowing the air to circulate freely beneath. A similar, though larger, structure was found at Rödgen, near Bad Nauheim, in a supply base of Augustan date.

(Cunliffe 1971a: 40)

A second rectangular building was discovered which was also raised on vertical timbers, though this time on an array of 13 by 6 posts, each sunk into its own individual hole (Cunliffe 1971a: 41–2). Each timber was about 0.30m square and placed in a pit 0.9–1.2m in diameter. While different in construction this was again thought to be the remains of a store building. Neither lasted very long at all; before the Claudio-Neronian period was out both had been replaced by successor structures. In each case, either the timbers had

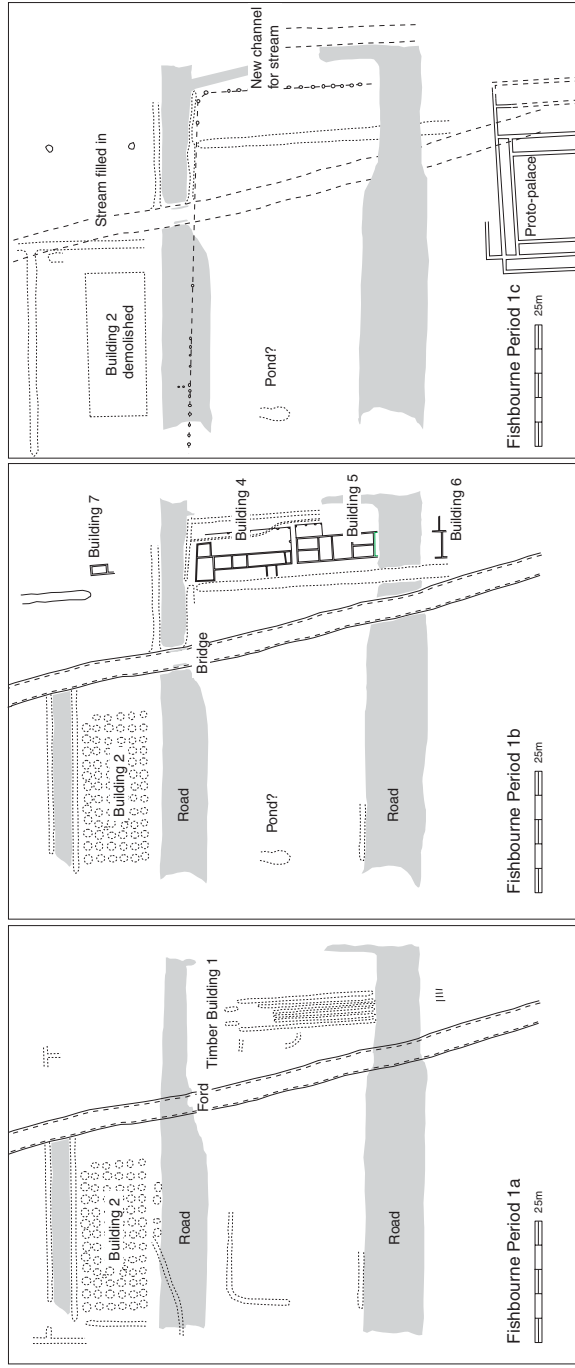


Figure 3.1 The 1961–9 excavations at Fishbourne (after Cunliffe 1971a)

rotted away (which would have been a surprisingly rapid rate of decay for the substantial posts) or else the uprights had been sawn off at ground level before the new buildings were constructed to replace them (which would have been remarkably wasteful of large timbers). Since both buildings were raised on relatively virgin land, virtually no residual material worked its way into the construction fills to help date the structures. The exception was one post-pit (D3), which had part of a 'native' jar within it (Cunliffe 1971b: figure 72 no. 9) and a shard of undiagnostic early Roman coarse ware. Since the timbers might have rotted away, these could have been intrusive, so alas did not provide the buildings with useful dating evidence. Their construction date was therefore difficult to determine.

For Cunliffe, at the time, the military interpretation seemed clear. The buildings looked like military granaries, the roads were well aligned and well made, and Roman military equipment was found in later phases of the site. While it would have been nice to uncover some additional military-style buildings, such as barrack blocks or a *principia*, only a relatively small area of these early phases had been opened up. There could easily be more waiting to be discovered elsewhere. The notion that this military phase started in AD 43 made historical sense. But there was a catch; this historical start date was at odds with some of the finds. Analysis of the ceramics from the first two phases showed that a significant amount of the imported pottery recovered dated to pre-Claudian times; indeed there was a collection of Arretine ware dating to around 10 BC to AD 25. Various explanations were sought, including that the army had been provisioned with out-of-date stock; that these were heirlooms brought to the site in the palace phase by people who had lived elsewhere; that the unknowing British civilians were prepared to buy out-of-date designs. None of these interpretations was entirely satisfactory. This assemblage of early imports was added to by subsequent excavations on the route of the A27 and from Chichester itself, exacerbating the anomaly (Cunliffe 1971a: 41; 1971b: 260ff; Cunliffe *et al.* 1996: 117; Manley and Rudkin 2003: 291). It seemed that somewhere around or under the palace should lie Augustan features waiting to be found.

As time moved on the need to associate the granaries and roads with a date of AD 43 or later dissipated. Both metalled roads and massive granaries have now been found in contexts which others have been happy to date to the Late Iron Age. First, the excavations at Silchester clearly showed that solid gravelled roads in Britain could exist from the 20s BC (Fulford 1993). The roads at Fishbourne therefore no longer *required* a Claudian or later date. Secondly, the excavations at Gorhambury (part of the Verulamium '*oppidum*' complex) revealed a granary construction technique very similar to Fishbourne's Timber Building 1, though here a pre-Claudian date was quite happily given to the structure (Neal *et al.* 1990: Building 10). Whereas the Fishbourne building was 6.7×30.5 m large, the Gorhambury example was described as 7×30 m, almost identical in size, though here the trenches ran

across rather than along the length of the plan. This structure was again interpreted as probably being a granary, but no military presence was invoked on this occasion. At Gorhambury there were, in the pre-Claudian phases, a wide variety of other buildings constructed, many of which were described as probably having storage functions. Another built early in the pre-Claudian structural sequence was Building 5 (Neal *et al.* 1990: 25–60). Like the second timber building at Fishbourne, this was made from massive load-bearing vertical posts, 0.75m wide, presumably supporting a raised floor, and in Neal's interpretation a second storey. This 'granary' was, however, small at only 5 × 5m, in comparison to the second granary at Fishbourne of about 29 × 16m. On the other hand, many of the construction techniques for both these buildings can also be closely paralleled with the granaries found during the excavations in 1986–7 at the Augustan fortress of Marktbreit on the river Main (Pietsch *et al.* 1991). In conclusion, both the roads and the storage buildings at Fishbourne *could* be pre-conquest. The dating evidence, such as it is, does not prove this, but neither does it preclude it. If they do pre-date AD 43, they could provide some evidence of the kind of settlement from which the anomalous group of imported ceramics came.

Meanwhile the new excavations at Fishbourne by the Sussex Archaeological Society were revealing additional features to the east of the palatial area. Here, in 1995–9, a major new building was discovered (Building 3) which again had frustratingly little dating evidence associated with it. Manley and Rudkin (2003) considered that it too *could* have originated during the pre-conquest period, but again the dating was insecure. They also looked back at the excavation records of the Period 1c Neronian Proto-palace, and wondered if it might not have been constructed around the kernel of a pre-existing bath-house, in which case that might be pre-conquest too. Again the limitations of the archaeological record meant that while the dating evidence did not preclude these possibilities, neither did it prove them.

The first unambiguous pre-Claudian feature was excavated just to the north of 'Building 3'. A ditch had been discovered during Alec Down's rescue excavations under the A27 (Cunliffe *et al.* 1996: 42), but in 1999 and 2002 Manley and Rudkin (1999: 8) excavated under more leisurely circumstances two more sections of the feature further to the west. In shape it was evocative of Roman military ditches: it had a V-shaped profile with a distinctive 'cleaning slot' at the bottom in places. It was parallel to the Period 1 roads on the site, suggesting both may have been in existence at the same time. However the ceramics from the primary silts proved to be particularly interesting. Whereas throughout all the interim reports of these excavations Cunliffe's original phasing has been rigidly adhered to, dating this ditch to the 'Phase 1a: military store base (AD 43+)', analysis of the ceramics from the bottom silts have revealed an assemblage which actually belongs to the period 10 BC–AD 25. It contained 675 sherds of pottery, over a third of which were continental imports, including some early Italian and South Gaulish 'Arretine' ware;

imported Terra Rubra from Gaul; and some Central Gaulish fine micaceous wares. The collection had an unmistakably Augustan/Tiberian feel in date. It was in association with this material that the fragment of Roman sword scabbard was found (see above, p. 49).

In conclusion, there was clearly a high-status settlement of some sort at Fishbourne from the Augustan period onwards. Apart from the ditch there are no unambiguous structures that date to this period; however there are several which could. At the most positive (or wishful) interpretation these would include the roads, the two granaries (Buildings 1 and 2), the new timber building (Building 3) and the bath-house. This is how Manley and Rudkin (2003) imagined the settlement, pushing the evidence to its limits (Figure 3.2). They are aware that this could overstate the case, but it also underlines that the existing dating does not make their vision impossible either. If not these buildings, then surely others must have stood somewhere nearby to account for the increasingly large assemblage recovered from the various excavations undertaken. In conclusion, we now have to face the possibility of there having been a reasonably substantial 'Romanised' settlement at Fishbourne in the Late Iron Age with military style ditches, metalwork and maybe roads, let alone the possibility of granaries and a bath-house.

We should consider a number of alternative ways of interpreting early Fishbourne. What else could the site have been if it did not start as a military supply base to support Vespasian's legions' push west during the Claudian invasion? One important aspect to realise is the small area of early deposits excavated; the Flavian palace has been left *in situ* for visitors to see, which means many of the earlier deposits remain inaccessible. The three buildings and bath-house (if they all are pre-Claudian) make up just one part of a presumably larger complex. The excavation at Gorhambury shows that the control of extensive storage facilities was important to the local dynasties, whether this be for supplying a retinue, or giving out political gifts/bribes to the population, as was happening in Rome. On the other hand, perhaps it is part of a locally styled auxiliary fort, or even a Roman one, protecting or watching over Verica or whoever may have been in charge of the region at the time. A final alternative is to invoke the hand of an emperor, Gaius, responsible for so many of the harbour works that made Claudius' campaign a success. Perhaps his generals genuinely did achieve something in Britain, despite the hostile literary tradition that he has inherited. This achievement may have included improving the harbour works on this side of the Channel. Each of these possibilities is only a suggestion. On the present evidence I doubt if one could distinguish between any of them. But all promise to free the evidence from the straitjacket of AD 43. It now means all the pre-Claudian pottery on the site has a potential context. It indicates that the granaries of Period 1a did not have to be built only to rot away within a few years, which the compressed original chronology suggested.

In the meantime the reinterpretation of this site could lead us to wonder

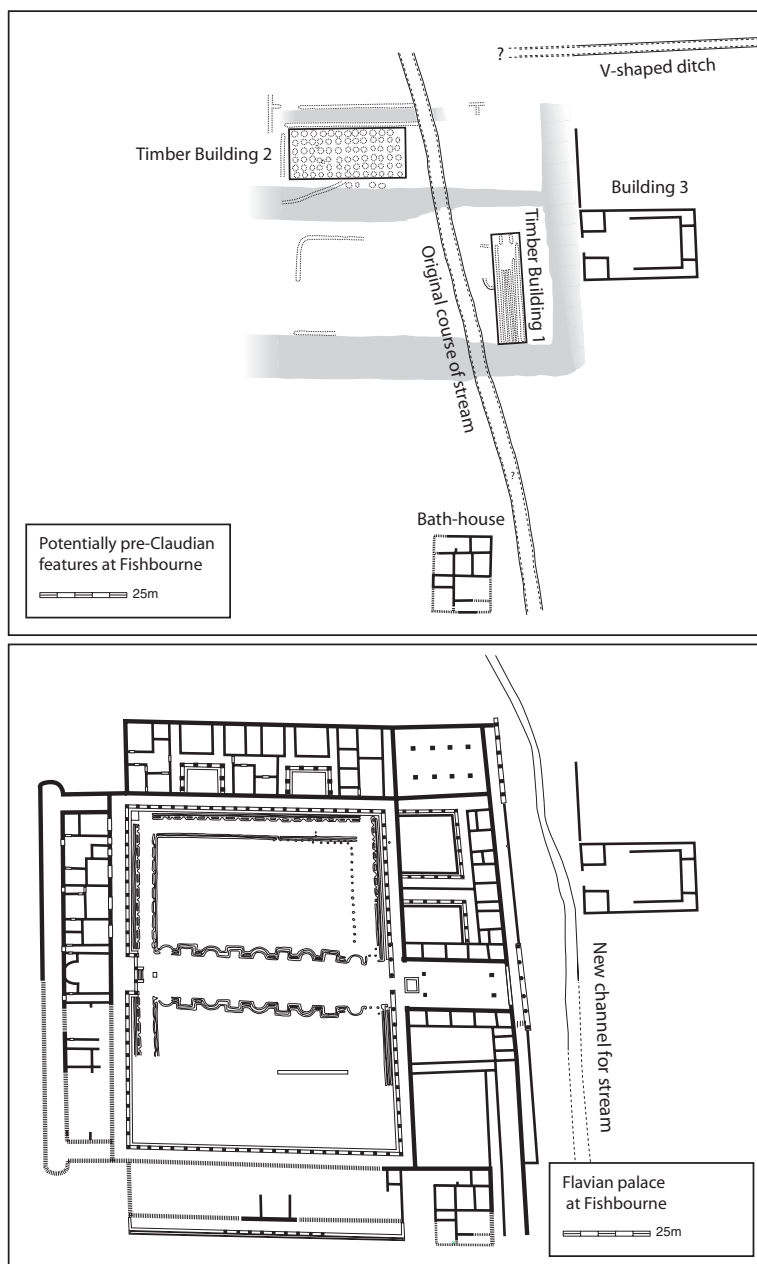


Figure 3.2 Fishbourne as speculatively envisaged by Manley and Rudkin shortly before the conquest, and also after the palace was constructed (after Manley and Rudkin 1999, 2003 and others)

about two other coastal localities, one new discovery and one much older excavation. First, another early granary has been excavated on the south coast, at Bitterne near Southampton, by Andy Russell of the Southampton City Council Archaeology Unit. The only dating evidence is that it had been cut by a later feature containing a coin of Vespasian, so the preliminary interpretation has been, as at Fishbourne, to associate it with a military supply base supporting Vespasian's advance into the west country after the invasion of AD 43. The form of the granary is similar to those at Fishbourne and various Augustan forts in Germany. In the light of the discussion above, perhaps this site too may be earlier in date and we should be beware of jumping too readily to historical conclusions. The second site is, or rather was, at Fingringhoe Wick (Essex), the coastal port for Camulodunum, largely lost to gravel extraction in the 1920s and 1930s. Here a series of rubbish pits identified as Claudio-Neronian were revealed, apparently in rows (like the Fishbourne Building 2 post pits?), covering an area in excess of two acres. As at Fishbourne, a strong component of earlier material was also recognised amongst the ceramic assemblage (S. Willis pers. comm.). If so, is this perhaps a comparable site to Fishbourne associated with the Eastern Dynasty?

Case study 2: Gosbecks at Camulodunum

Camulodunum was described as the capital of Cunobelin's kingdom (Dio 60.21.4). This was where the Claudian forces headed and awaited their Emperor so that he could lead them in triumphantly, and where a legionary fortress was established to house Legio XX. The name of the settlement appeared on Cunobelin's coinage, but the archaeological reality so far has revealed not a densely nucleated settlement, but rather a broad plateau between the Roman and Colne rivers, cut off by a series of large dykes which date from the Late Iron Age into the Early Roman period. In association with these earthworks are two notable burial areas, one at Stanway and one at Lexden, at each of which wealthy Later Iron Age graves have been noted. In terms of actual settlement, the Gosbecks complex includes a large defended enclosure, which has come to be referred to as 'Cunobelin's farmstead'. In the Roman period a small theatre and temple were constructed near here, suggesting the site had certain ritual connotations (see p. 130). This collection was added to in the 1970s when a small fort was discovered nearby. Certainly it looked like a Roman military camp, so the inevitable historical contexts for it were sought. Hawkes and Crummy (1995: 101) described the various options. They thought it strange that a fortlet should be contemporary with the legionary fortress a short distance away, so they reviewed three other possibilities. First, the fort could pre-date and overlap the period of construction of the legionary fortress; in which case it dated precisely to AD 43 or very shortly thereafter. Secondly, the fort might have been built after the conversion of the fortress into a *colonia* (c.AD 49; Tac. *Ann.* 21.32), when it could

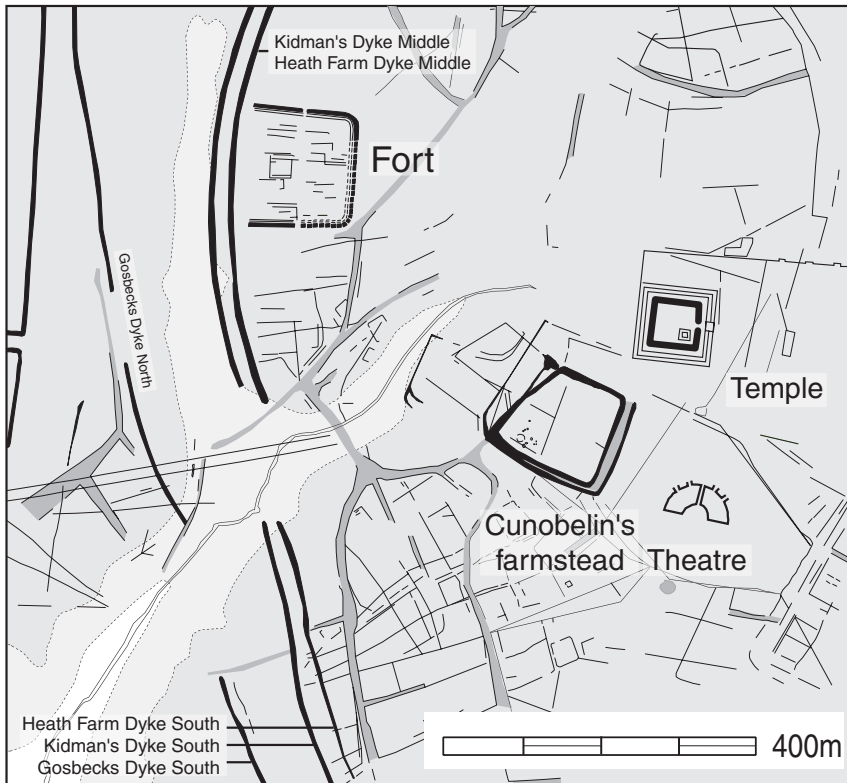


Figure 3.3 The fort in the Gosbecks area at Camulodunum (after Hawkes and Crummy 1995)

have housed the soldiers that Tacitus said were resident at the time of the Boudican destruction of the town (Tac. *Ann.* 14.32.3). Finally, the site may represent a fort constructed in the aftermath of the revolt in AD 60/1.

Short of excavation, only the plan of the fort can offer any help with closer dating. The absence of a *porta decumana* is a distinctive feature shared by the three best known forts of this period, namely Valkenburg I, Hod Hill and Great Casterton, all of which date from about the AD 40s . . . In other words, its plan favours a construction date of c.43 to c.48 but not as late as c.60/1.

(Hawkes and Crummy 1995: 101)

So the date of AD 43 was preferred, and the discovery elsewhere in the town of a tombstone of Longinus Sdapeze, a First Thracian cavalry officer (RIB

201), was used tentatively as evidence to suggest the occupants of the fortlet, though they acknowledged that a military *colonia* was always liable to have a very mixed population, so he might not represent a member of the actual garrison.

The possibility that the fort could have been pre-conquest was not considered. However, variants on this scenario should be addressed. First, if Cunobelin had been trained in the Roman army, then like other friendly kings he might have marshalled his forces along similar lines to the *auxilia*. Secondly, the fort may have been garrisoned with genuine Roman auxiliaries before Roman annexation. As we have seen, there were such units in Armenia and the Bosporus, partly to protect and partly to mind their kings. As noted above, Dio tells us that Gaius' generals did have some success in Britain.

This is not an academic point. Data are read and interpreted within a specific mindset, and we are prone to ignore evidence that does not fit, consciously or unconsciously. When David Wilson published an air photograph and gave his first interpretation, the fort was represented as having rounded corners going under Heath Farm Dyke. The importance of this is clear, as it would suggest that the fort was earlier than that section of the Iron Age dyke (this, of course, would be a heresy). Building rounded corners for an enclosure abutting a large dyke would be a very strange design. But if the fortlet was Claudian then it must be later than the dyke, so when Hawkes and Crummy redrew the fort (1995; see Figure 3.3) the junction was blurred. As they said:

In Dr Wilson's publication of the discovery, he stated that although he felt that the existing earthwork had been used to provide the western defences of the fort, the northern and southern military defences were nonetheless curved as if they had continued in an orthodox manner to form a west side. He shows just such a curve on the northwest angle in his plan . . . Under the circumstances, such an arrangement would be surprising (cf. Hod Hill) and no such angles are indicated in our plotting of the cropmarks. This is done, not because we feel that these do not necessarily exist, but because in our view the cropmarks are not quite clear enough in this part of the fort to support such an interpretation.

(Hawkes and Crummy 1995: 100)

None the less, it would be intriguing to imagine Camulodunum as a pre-existing burial site (the Lexden cemetery), remodelled by the clearly Romanised Cunobelin using massive dykes with a Roman style fortlet, right from the start dominating the southern entrance to the complex and protecting his own special enclosure. Again, no proof can be found without selective excavation, and even then, if the pottery recovered included mainly Claudian and some Tiberian finewares, would that mean that the fortlet was Tiberian, or would it

mean that the earlier pottery was just residual stock brought in with the army? All too often excavation cannot give precise answers, but at least we could establish if the fort pre- or post-dated the dyke. Geophysical work by Tim Dennis is scheduled to take place at the site and it will be interesting to see if any of the questions raised manage to resolve themselves.

Case study 3: Silchester

Calleva is another complex where the archaeological evidence provides ambiguities, and another site where our fragmentary knowledge of the history has been used to provide an interpretative framework for the archaeology. However, here the historical evidence we have is the ‘reconstructed history’ from Iron Age coins. The name of the town first appears on the coinage of Eppillus (e.g. VA415:SE8), one of the self-proclaimed sons of Commius. Because of this the town has been associated at one time or another with all of the members of the Commian dynasty. Archaeologically the site appears to begin around 20/10 BC, suggesting that one of his sons may have been responsible (Fulford 1993). The settlement was defended at some point with the construction of two circuits around it: the Inner Earthwork, revealed by aerial photography; and the Outer Earthwork, which survives in part to the present day, both earlier than the Roman timber and stone defences (Figure 7.4). Molly Cotton first attempted to phase these earthworks in an excavation which revealed some pottery from under one of the banks. Boon considered the assemblage to date to some time around AD 25, providing a *terminus post quem* for the bank (Cotton 1947; Boon 1969: 14); however a revised assessment of the ceramics by Jane Timby after the basilica excavations meant that this material was reassigned to the late first century BC (Fulford 1987: 275).

Historical contexts for the earthworks have often been sought. One idea was that they related to the ‘conquest’ of the area by the ‘Catuvellauni’ under Epaticcus, brother of Cunobelin. In this scenario the defences might have been built either in response to the threat, or by the conquerors protecting their new acquisition. However, this ‘historical invasion’ is an imagined story derived from coin distributions. Silchester lies on the boundary of the coin distributions of the Commian and Tasciovanian dynasties. Whereas its foundation is often associated with the Commian dynasty, in the Late Iron Age it appears to be within the circulation zone of coins of Epaticcus, son of Tasciovanus. Whether this change in the dominant coinage was due to violence and conflict (the traditional interpretation) or dynastic intermarriage (equally plausible, though not as exciting), it is impossible to say. However, Epaticcus’ coinage did display a blend of symbolism from both dynasties, so I would prefer to think of dynastic union.

Within the centre of this *oppidum* an excavation took place in the 1980s that has become another ‘classic’ in the interpretation of the Late Iron Age. This was on the site of the Roman forum-basilica, underneath which a large

area of Late Iron Age deposits was examined (Fulford and Timby 2000). This dig provided the first indication of a settlement in pre-Claudian Britain with metalled streets, with all the implications for pre-Roman 'Romanisation' which that entailed. It enabled Silchester to be thought of as an organised defended townscape, the first firm evidence in Britain for anything remotely comparable to some of the continental *oppida* of the Late Iron Age (Collis 1984).

The main archaeological sequence at the site has remained unaltered since the first interim reports were published, but the interpretation and fine dating did change by the time the final publication arrived. Since this sequence and interpretation included military metalwork and discussion of what may have been a military building, the site is clearly of relevance to our discourse here.

The site started off with three phases of Iron Age deposits (Periods 1–3, Figure 3.4), the latter two including features associated with two streets approximately at right angles to each other, nestling into which was a series of rectangular plots. One block had a palisade along its northern edge with a series of big pits dug immediately behind. Sealing many of these deposits was a massive rectangular courtyard building constructed on a different alignment (Period 4). Initially Fulford wondered if this was a military *principia* dating to the Claudian conquest (Fulford 1993). This structure was rebuilt at least once before it was replaced with another timber building in the Flavian period (Period 5). This new structure Fulford interpreted as the first forum-basilica on the site, which was eventually rebuilt in stone in the Hadrianic period (Period 6). There are two points of interest here: first the dating, nature and interpretation of the Period 4 building, and secondly the discovery of a large quantity of military metalwork within the sequence.

This Period 4 building was initially dated to the Neronian period on the basis of ceramics found in its construction trench (Fulford 1985: 45). However, further analysis showed that in some areas traces of a second cut and a rebuilding were apparent, making this chronological evidence unreliable for the foundation date and potentially only indicative of its rebuilding. The only other dating evidence came from examining what the building sealed. In this case its construction capped some of the Period 3 pits that contained imported fine wares of the Tiberian to Claudian period, whereas other pits nearby that had not been sealed by the building contained material down to the Claudio-Neronian period in their top fills. Fulford concluded that the structure must have a Tiberio-Claudian *terminus post quem*. He favoured an early Claudian date, but he did acknowledge the theoretical possibility that the building *could* be pre AD 43 (Fulford and Timby 2000: 566).

Fulford decided on a post-conquest date because of the way he viewed the link between history and archaeology. First, he perceived that 'no parallels for buildings of this size and complexity are known from the pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain'; so it must be post AD 43. Secondly, the building was on a different orientation from the two Iron Age roads, and was more-or-less

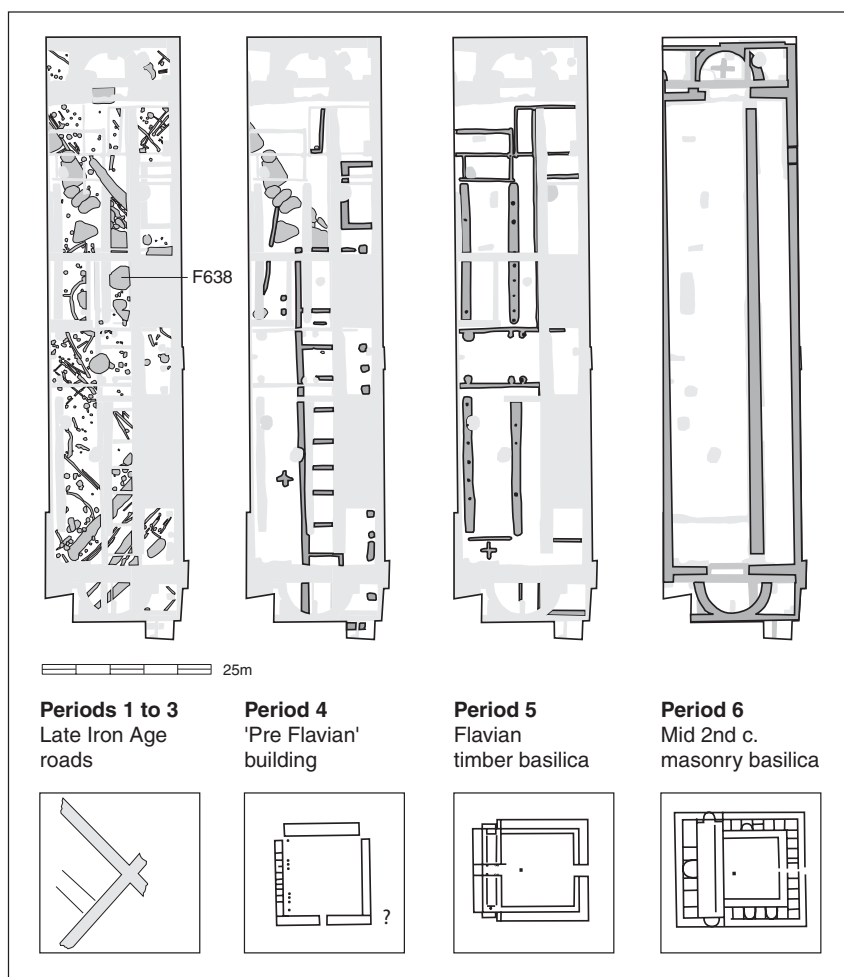


Figure 3.4 The basilica excavations at Silchester (after Fulford and Timby 2000)

on the alignment of what was to become the new Roman grid layout in the town. He interpreted this reorientation as a refoundation of the site consequent upon some kind of radical change – notably one of regime: either dating to the early Claudian period with the building potentially serving as a military *principia*, or originating during the later part of Claudius' reign with the building being interpreted as the forerunner of the later fora.

The choice of date . . . is undoubtedly important as it undoubtedly influences our interpretation of this first Roman building. With a

late Claudian date, it is more likely that it would relate to the development of a civil town either as part of a Cogidubnian kingdom or as *caput civitas Atrebatum*. A military interpretation at this date would seem implausible. An earlier Claudian date reverses the situation, even if it does not lead to certainty of interpretation . . . A Claudian fortress at Silchester makes a great deal of sense . . . it takes control of a major native centre and one possibly to be associated with the continuing resistance of Caratacus in 43–44/5.

(Fulford 1993: 21)

Other tentative evidence suggested a military presence at Silchester, even though the clear outline of an actual fort was missing. In 1979 a V-shaped ditch was found under the amphitheatre containing masses of Claudio-Neronian pottery wasters, comparable to the military assemblages from Kingsholm (Glos.) (Timby 1989: 88–9). Similarly the bones from pre-Flavian contexts on the southwestern side of Silchester suggested organised cattle butchery on a scale pointing to military involvement (Maltby 1984: 202; Sommer 1986). Boon thought the street grid indicated military surveyors (Boon 1974: 55; Sommer 1986: 624). However, all of this evidence is pretty circumstantial for a Claudian legionary garrison. No barracks or other classic legionary buildings have ever been found. However, if the Period 4 structure was a *principia*, that would alter things (Fulford 1993: 19). Unfortunately, the plan of the building was incomplete, and did not include a *sacellum* (the room in which the legionary standards and strong room were kept), which would have helped confirm this identification.

By the time it came to the final report Fulford's position had shifted slightly. He preferred to think of the building as civilian, a precursor to the timber basilica-forum that was constructed in the next phase. The tendency to seek military origins for Roman towns was on the wane, and archaeologists were happier to see Roman towns developing from indigenous sites with less recourse to the army for explaining away new building techniques and architectural forms (see chapter 4). In parallel to this, the interpretation of the Silchester building changed.

In summary, what we have is a timber structure that has been variably interpreted to fit into the prevailing narrative of the conquest of Britain. But again, by assuming the building must be post AD 43, are we closing our minds to potential evidence for pre-Claudian contact or military influence? If Verica's or Epaticcus' domains included troops dressed in the Roman manner, or incorporated a retinue who had seen service with the Roman *auxilia*, then there is no reason why they should not have constructed buildings that we interpret as 'Roman'.

With this in mind it is worth looking at the presence of military metalwork from the excavations. Fifty-three pieces of first-century Roman style military metalwork were found, thirteen of them (25 per cent) from deposits

nominally dated to before the Claudian annexation (Period 3). This material was mainly made up of fragments of *lorica segmentata* (buckle- and strap-end plates, hinges, washers and rivets, one or two rosettes, and strap-union links, etc.). This was compared to the kind of assemblage found at Caerleon and other fortresses (Boon 2000: 583). In his report Boon did not discuss the possibility of any of these finds being pre-conquest. He simply asserted that they first appeared in the Claudio-Neronian period, neglecting to mention that a quarter came from Period 3 deposits, a phase which was generally dated to the Late Iron Age, spanning the second quarter of the first century AD. So this material bears re-examination, since potentially it includes stratified evidence of pre-conquest military metalwork.

As usual, the archaeological evidence is problematic. Many of the Period 3 roadside pits, perhaps dug as early as 25 AD, continued to accumulate rubbish in their uppermost fill for a decade or so after the construction of the Period 4 building (Fulford and Timby 2000: 42). Therefore it is possible to argue that any military metalwork finds in them may represent contamination from post-conquest activity. However, some of these pits were sealed by the construction of the Period 4 building, and as luck would have it one of them (Pit 638, context 1098) did contain one of the early bits of military equipment, a terminal strap from a cavalry harness (SF1896, Fulford and Timby 2000: 33, 340). The pottery associated with it included material up to the Augustan-Tiberian period, but none later. In conclusion, there is evidence for Roman style military metalwork from the site dating to the early first century AD.

If we imagine Silchester as being the home of the Romanised Tincomarus, Eppillus, Verica or Epaticcus, then in each case this kind of evidence should not surprise us. If these men had spent time at Rome, or with the Roman army, then the presence of Roman fashion military dress on their home sites might be expected. It does not need to be explained away as later contamination. Unfortunately, we cannot go much further with the data though. Were these Britons dressed in Roman military fashion, or were they Roman auxiliaries protecting Rome's interests abroad? Sadly, the archaeological evidence is too subtle to try to argue between these.

Conclusion

The quest was to reread the archaeological record to see if there was any indication of a Roman or Roman style military presence in the friendly kingdoms of southeast Britain before the Claudian annexation. It is curious that both Fishbourne and Silchester should have what appear to be elements of rectilinear street layouts in the Later Iron Age, and potentially military style architecture or material culture; while at Gosbecks there may be a Later Iron Age auxiliary style fort. In each of these three cases – Fishbourne, Gosbecks and Silchester – the existing interpretations may be correct, but problems

with the evidence do mean that alternative explanations are possible which blur the significance of AD 43 as the date at which everything changed. We seek a transition then because we classify and compartmentalise the past in order to make it intelligible. In doing so we use and apply labels too easily to people and things, classifying individuals as 'Roman' or 'British', even 'military' or 'civilian'. Identity is far more complex than that.

In this reconstruction of first-century Britain, where friendly kings and Roman governors wore analogous regalia, where their physical and bodily appearance may have been similar, where their authority over the peoples in their kingdom or province may have been comparable and where their retinues may have all worn some form of Roman armour, the scale of the change can be overstated. None the less, so too can the case for continuity. In AD 43 Aulus Plautius *did* arrive with Claudius' troops, and not just a few auxiliary units, but a force of thousands. A standing army of that size, following different customs and values from the inhabitants of the kingdoms, could not fail to have an impact on the local population. Fortunately for southeast Britain this did not happen for long. With the exception of the legionary fortress at Camulodunum, the Claudian legions did not tarry in the Southern and Eastern Kingdoms. They rapidly moved out to protect these areas from the north and west. The occasional presence of 'military police' in the friendly kingdoms of Cogidubnus and others may have occurred (Alston 1995: 86; James 2001: 82), but perhaps this visible presence of Roman style uniform was not much greater than had been witnessed before, under the pre-Claudian friendly kings.

I hope this discussion makes clear the difficulty and ambiguity of archaeological evidence when it is examined in detail. No interpretations of it are 'neutral' or 'objective'; just as historical texts are laden with the ideological foibles of both author and reader, so too are excavations. Ambiguous evidence is placed into the prevailing historical framework, frequently without any second thought or awareness that alternative interpretations might be possible, which means that conflicting versions of history will always have to compete against them. I hope I have demonstrated alternative readings are possible, though I too am constrained in what I can see by my own ideological baggage.

THE IDEA OF THE TOWN

In the Later Iron Age *oppida* had emerged in Britain. Few of them have evidence amounting to the dense nucleated sites of La Tène and Augustan Gaul, Silchester perhaps being an exception, but the term has been adopted and has become common usage. The first of these was probably at Hengistbury Head on the south coast, but in the late first century BC new ‘royal sites’ emerged, such as Verulamium, Silchester and Camulodunum, producing coins with the settlement names inscribed on them together with those of kings. However, the character of these political centres was transformed in the generations following the Claudian conquest. From very shortly after the annexation, recognisably ‘Roman’ towns began to appear in the landscape. Regular street patterns enclosed and framed new types of buildings in which to dispense justice, sacrifice or bathe. This happened very rapidly in some places, with the development of Verulamium, Londinium and Camulodunum, only for them to become significant targets of disaffection during the Boudican revolt of AD 60/1. However, this setback did not stifle ‘progress’ for long, and the Flavian period saw the construction of fora and other new monuments all over southeast Britain.

The first impression of the towns of Roman Britain is of a certain degree of uniformity: the *insula* blocks, the public buildings, the cemeteries around the outside, and the later defensive works. Yet this cursory similarity is beguiling. It masks divergent social practices that developed as the very different populations of these towns practised their varied concepts of what it was to be ‘Roman’.

What I want to do is to look at how individuals came to build towns the way they did. A key theme here is the varied social backgrounds of the people who constructed these new urban centres. How did they ‘know’ what to build and where to place it; and to what extent did they share the same vision of what they were trying to achieve? The construction of these settlements, over several generations, reflected the aspirations, but also the interpretation of *romanitas* which all of the stakeholders within each community had. However, what a Roman Equestrian thought of as ‘Roman’ may have been totally different from the view of a Thracian recruited into the

legions and discharged into the veteran colony of Colchester. Both these 'immigrants' in turn would have had entirely contrasting conceptions to those of a member of the native aristocracy, whose ideas would be different again from those of a local craftsman in his patronage. All of these various people had a stake in their community and all helped shape the development of 'their' towns. I want to wonder how individual social actors with widely varying life experiences ended up creating and living in these spaces. How do the urban layouts facilitate memory and display, and what is being remembered and displayed and by whom? Here we meet a far broader range of the population than in the earlier chapters of the book, though yet again the kings will have their own story to tell which has hitherto rarely been included in the way people discuss the development of towns (chapter 7). But first we have to explore how we have come to know what we think we know, to look at the historiography of the study of towns in Roman Britain; then we need to understand the building blocks that went to make up these towns as they were gradually assembled on top of the *oppida* of the Late Iron Age kingdoms and on fresh new sites.

Changing approaches to the towns of Roman Britain

The way in which the Roman towns of Britain have been constructed in the modern imagination has varied significantly over the last two centuries as the political climate has shifted. The nineteenth century saw the creation of county natural history and antiquarian societies across the United Kingdom, each keen to assert the distinctiveness of its own particular region, be it faunal, floral, geological or historical. By the end of the century many had embarked upon large-scale excavations such as at the green-field sites of Silchester and Caerwent. The public appetite for these was strong and popular magazines such as the *Illustrated London News* brought them huge publicity. Meanwhile in the urban centres the increased rate of development meant that yet more Roman remains were being discovered under modern towns as cellars pierced the accumulated layers of ages. Industrious individuals collected the sporadic information revealed by this building work. In London, for example, the task was taken up by a local chemist, Charles Roach Smith, whose observations are still of great value today in piecing together London's past. But how were these remains understood?

These discoveries were interpreted within the classic themes addressed by Victorian and Edwardian education, namely the notion of civilisation in contrast to barbarism (cf. Hingley 2000). Those who had benefited from a classical education naturally interpreted the emerging remains in terms of the ancient literary evidence. When Tacitus described his father-in-law as a model governor of Britain in the Flavian period, he included within the text a description of Agricola fostering the construction of buildings, explicitly 'civilising' the natives (Tac. *Agr.* 21). This statement was so clear cut that

when the massive stone-built forum was revealed at Silchester, text and archaeology were immediately matched, and the forum declared proof positive of Agricola's programme of civic adornment. As it happens, this phase of the building was actually much later in date, but that was something that only emerged more recently during Fulford's excavations (Period 6, Figure 3.4; Esmonde Cleary 1998a: 36; Fulford and Timby 2000). Such was the method of the day: the bare bones of the archaeological remains were fleshed out and coloured by reference to the few textual sources for Roman Britain that survived.

In the early twentieth century Haverfield's work, under the influence of Mommsen, began to alter perception of these settlements by seeing them not so much as the homes of imperialist adventurers, but as those of native Britons who had adopted Roman cultural values. But if Britons rather than 'Romans' inhabited these cities, how had they known how to construct these new monuments to Imperialism? It was imagined that the Governor and the army explicitly helped in Romanising the provincials. The classical world was ordered and structured along the lines of city-states and communities, so the Roman authorities would surely want Britain to conform as well. Since there were no towns in Iron Age Britain, there was a need to create these to administer the populace. The archaeology as it was read at the time seemed to conform to this top-down model.

The *coloniae* could . . . be used as an instrument of Imperial policy, to foster loyalty or to reinforce and propagate Roman culture . . . these chartered towns form the specific contribution to the civilization or organization of provinces by the Roman government.

(Richmond 1946: 57)

The colonies of Colchester, Lincoln and Gloucester provided examples to be copied. The military link and the agency for provision of this stimulus were retired soldiers and the assistance of military surveyors. As excavations continued more evidence was found to confirm the existing paradigm. In 1955 several fragments of inscription were discovered during the building work on the site of the forum at Verulamium. This was the dedicatory inscription of the complex. Only a few fragments of the original massive block of Purbeck marble were recovered, but magically one included on it the name of the governor, linking the building to Agricola himself (Wright 1956). The historical reference to a policy of giving 'official assistance to the building of temples, public squares and good houses' (Tac. *Agr.* 21) was vindicated.

This image of imperial direction fostering Mediterranean style urban centres in the form of *civitas* capitals was consolidated into a clear narrative framework by Frere in his *Britannia* (1967). Further evidence was interpreted in this light, bringing the military into the picture. The fora of Britain, unlike many in Gaul and Germany, often lacked axially aligned classical temples. An expla-

nation was sought by identifying archetypes for these aberrant constructions from legionary *principia* buildings. Similarly the early bath-house at Calleva was thought to derive from a military type common in the Rhineland (St John Hope and Fox 1905). Finally, when Frere excavated the pre-Boudican wooden shops in Verulamium Insula XIV (Frere 1972), he reconstructed the plan as comparable to military barracks (Figure 4.1):

No pre-Roman building in Britain exhibits timber framework of such complexity: but the style is immediately recognizable at the Roman fort of Claudian date at Valkenburg Z.H., close to Leiden near the mouth of the Old Rhine in Holland, and is found again in later military buildings at Corbridge. Remembering its early date, we cannot doubt that military architects and craftsmen were lent or sent to aid the construction of the new city. Indeed, in view of the government's need to expedite its programme of urbanization in the new province with all speed, it seems likely that military supplies of seasoned timber may have been made available: even in the small area explored it can be calculated that over 3,300 yards of squared beams would be required for the wall frames, without taking account of the roofs. At the date suggested only army stockpiles are likely to have had ready timber in such quantity.

(Frere 1972: 10–11)

This view of direct purposive action by the state met its apogee in the masterful survey of Roman towns by Wachter (1974). Throughout the book the hand of the Roman Governor or Emperor or the influence of the army was perceived; yet variability was starting to creep into the picture and local initiative began to be recognised:

If the selection of *civitas* capitals owed much to official policy, then the variations in plan which occur between one capital and another must be a measure of local wealth and opinion, otherwise there would have been a greater degree of standardisation between sites. This is an argument against the imposition of a standard plan, and illustrates the degree to which the natives were allowed to pursue their own course, with the minimum of interference from above.

(Wachter 1974: 21)

By the late 1980s the degree of dissatisfaction with the top-down approach to Roman towns had grown. A number of detailed studies questioned some of the tenets of the official assistance model. Tacitus was deconstructed, placing the excerpt within its literary genre as part of a discourse on good/bad governorship (and by implication imperial rule). Analysis of the stonemasonry in British fora by Blagg (1984a, 2002) showed little detailed

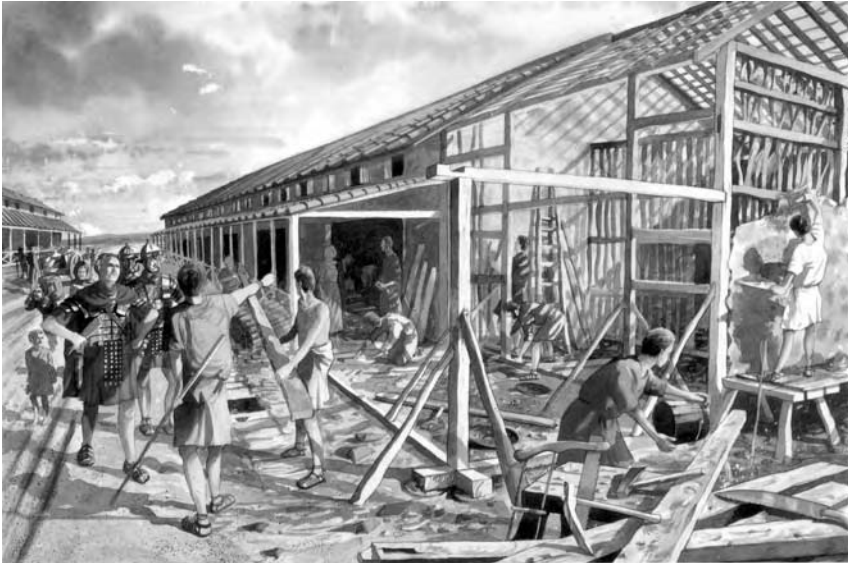


Figure 4.1 Painting of the construction of the buildings of Insula XIV at Verulamium, aided by Roman troops (painting by John Pearson: © St Albans Museums)

architectural association with the stone-built forts in the north of Britain which might have been expected if military architects had been used; instead there were far more similarities between the fora of southeast Britain and the developing architecture in the *civitates* of Gaul. The first coherent narrative to try to pull all of this together was Millett's *Romanization of Britain* (1990a). In it he attempted to replace the notion of 'state direction' by that of 'emulation' by the native elite as part of the process of identifying themselves with the new ruling regime. In this version the native elite adopted new ways with the dual purpose of pleasing their imperial masters and marking themselves off from the lesser ranks within society. As many have observed, this reversal of perspective in the role of the state came during a period when Thatcherism was the dominant political ideology. Within this the rhetoric was all about pulling back the control of the state and empowering the individual, or at least selected individuals (Esmonde Cleary 1998a). Another influence was generational: the current academics had grown up during the retreat from Empire, as Britain gave up its territories overseas. Identification with top-down imperialism was becoming increasingly problematic and being replaced by an interest in the 'native' perspective.

Millett's work came to dominate discussion in the 1990s, and generally his views have been adopted; but they were not necessarily warmly received at

first. Fulford was less than convinced by Millett's rejection of the idea of military and state assistance. In his review of the book he restated many of the perceived examples of military influence and aid in the towns of Roman Britain (Fulford 1991). However, gradually prevailing orthodoxy shifted and we can see this happening in Fulford's own excavations. Whereas in the 1980s he had interpreted an early wooden building under the basilica-forum at Silchester as a military *principia*, by the 1990s he had shifted his position to it being a proto-forum, removing the emphasis on military interpretations himself (Figure 3.4, Period 4: Fulford 1987; Fulford and Timby 2000).

Elite emulation provided a simple all-encompassing idea within which to read the towns of Roman Britain. None the less, during the 1990s others tried to find new ways of approaching townscapes. Hingley (1997) drew on discussions by Foucault and others about the nature of power, and saw *civitas* capitals as sites of domination and control by the state:

Access to the tribal centre was controlled by walls and funnelled through gateways, although in many cases these were not built until the late 2nd c. Movement along straight streets through the centre was observable across long distances by the tribal authorities. The centrally placed forum and basilica represented state control over local administration and markets; the baths, amphitheatre and theatre were symbols of controlled entertainment. Water and food supplies in the *civitas* capitals were easily brought under the control of the elite.

(Hingley 1997: 90)

His description of *civitas* capitals made them sound like Victorian gaols, with their radiating wings permitting observation from a central focal point. But how did this city of domination arise? How did the native elite know how to construct this prison of their desires, and exactly who was observing whom?

While some experimented with new ideas, many more remained wedded to earlier paradigms. In Gloucester there was a conference examining the *coloniae* of Roman Britain. Millett was asked to comment on it and pointed out that virtually the same research questions were being asked now as had been asked over fifty years ago (Richmond 1946; Wachter 1995; cf. Millett 1999: 191). Such was the frustration that new avenues were not being pursued that the Council for British Archaeology sponsored in 1997 the drafting of a new research agenda on the development of urbanism (republished as: Burnham *et al.* 2001). This was followed a few years later with a drive by English Heritage to create a new research agenda for archaeology. In a conference session, which they sponsored, Millett himself presented his own ideas (Millett 2001a). The traditional way of studying the towns by dividing them according to their Roman legal status of *coloniae*, *municipia* and *civitas* capitals was not going anywhere. On the basis of environmental evidence

coloniae had no obvious fingerprint that distinguished them from any of the others (Dobney *et al.* 1999: 33); and while all the *coloniae* (except York) were clearly built on the remains of legionary bases, other fortresses had become towns but not *coloniae* (e.g. Wroxeter and Exeter). A further problem was that London embarrassingly fell into none of these legal categories owing to a gap in our literary and epigraphic record (Millett 1996). Both agendas suggested that to move forward a greater emphasis was required on social identity:

Current research has little to say about demographics of the social identity of the inhabitants of Britain's urban centres in the century or so following the conquest ... Beyond the familiar ideas that veterans settled in *coloniae*, that London (in particular) supported a community of traders, and that the public towns formed the power-base for the cantonal elite in Roman guise, the question of identity – who these people were – is almost dormant.

(Burnham *et al.* 2001: 71)

They also believed that the apparent uniformity of Roman towns was far from a reality. Whereas once many had interpolated and imagined regular orthogonal street layouts in many towns, now urban excavations had continued sufficiently to demonstrate that many of the earlier neatly regular projections were wishful thinking. Some towns had a planned core with a relatively organic development around the edges (London), others had a wide variety of *insula* sizes and road alignments (Canterbury), and in many it was realised that elements of a Roman grid had been imposed over an earlier layout (Caerwent and Calleva), suggesting that traditional notions of the foundation and planning of these sites were inaccurate (Burnham *et al.* 2001: 73).

A further problem with the division of towns according to legal status came with Laurence's discussion of the very category of '*civitas* capital' itself, questioning its entire validity. He went through a historiography of the term as applied to Britain, from Haverfield to the present day, showing how our desire to see the Roman imposition of mini city-states in Britain had probably stretched the evidence beyond its limits (Laurence 2001b: 88–90). What we are left with from Ptolemy's *Geography*, the Antonine Itineraries and the *Ravenna Cosmography*, our geographical sources, is an awareness that some people or *gentes/civitates* had one or more centres or *poleis*; and that any hierarchy we wish to impose on them suggesting one is more important (or a capital) rather than another is probably more our wishful thinking than anything based on tangible literary evidence. Alas, '*civitas* capitals' are concepts which are thoroughly entrenched in our narratives of Roman Britain (prefacing modern county towns), and they are likely to remain so for many years to come, whatever direction academic discourse follows.

So how can the study of these sites be taken forward? Multiple identities need to be recognised in the individuals who inhabited and made towns, and the varied biographies of different towns ought to be acknowledged; yet at the same time all need to be drawn into a framework which helps us make sense of the past, rather than atomising narratives into as many different stories as there are settlements. That is the challenge of writing syntheses.

Towns were very much organic institutions, continually changing in character and form from their inception until the present day. These institutions were far more than clusters of solid edifices; they were collections of individuals who carried out their lives on this stage. Each actor came with a different background and experience, generating contrasting expectations and desires; and it was these, interacting with the hopes, desires and fears of others, that led to the creation, continued regeneration and reinvention of the town in Roman Britain. The province in the first century AD was full of individuals with differing experiences. There were members of the Senatorial and Equestrian elite of the Roman state on duty in the province, inculcated with their own sense of the social order that they would have consciously and unconsciously reinforced in their interactions with others. Their conceptions of how life was lived and their moral outlook would have been rather different from an Italian freedman, here in Britain trading, acting as an agent of his Equestrian patron back in Italy. Yet while these two might have had divergent life experiences, they may have shared certain notions about what was 'routine' and what was 'normal' in the way life was enacted in towns, deriving from their common experience of life in the cities of Roman Italy. As the towns of Britain developed, these individuals would have played a significant role in shaping that change, re-creating patterns of behaviour inculcated within them. But what of a 'native Briton' with a significantly different cultural background and life experience? How would he have seen and understood a 'Roman town'; and more fundamentally, how would he have imagined and created one?

All human action is carried out by knowledgeable agents who both construct the social world through their action, but yet whose action is also conditioned or constrained by the very world of their creation. In constituting and reconstituting the social world, human beings at the same time are involved in an active interplay with nature, in which they both modify nature and themselves.

(Giddens 1995: 54)

I hope to show that the variable development of towns in Britain owed a significant amount to the differing make-up of their populations. All of these were Roman towns, but 'Roman' is an idea, and ideas are understood in different ways by different people. In order to appreciate the creation and diversity of towns in Britain we have to appreciate some of the contrasting

mindsets amongst those individuals who came to Britain. What idea and experience of communal living were brought to Britain from outside? There will have been as many different experiences as individuals arriving in the country, but below we will explore two perspectives, life as might be imagined in the cities of Italy and life in the other dense nucleated sites of the Empire – military forts. The aim is not to describe towns and forts as a collection of various types of building, but to gain a feel for how life was enacted within and amongst these, introducing along the way a little terminology from social theory. The purpose of doing this is to create comparisons against which to contrast our British towns – rather than to create a checklist of ‘Roman’ and ‘non-Roman’ features which would be entirely spurious, since, as the following chapters will demonstrate, *romanitas* is a very movable feast.

Civilian experiences of communal living

Arriving in Britain came the army, along with administrators ready to measure, codify and tax the land and populace of the emerging province. The Governor and Procurator each had his own staff, many on temporary tours of duty. These influential people will have been the movers and shakers of the time, added to by other visitors: traders, some from Gaul, but also freedmen acting on behalf of their Roman aristocratic patrons, engaged in military supply contracts or commerce of their own. These were people who had money, and who had to make their stay in Britain as palatable as they could, before retreating back to the safety of their own homelands.

It is important that we gain an insight into how many of these most influential people seconded to Roman Britain understood city life; and how (up to a point) they would have in their own ways sought to re-create familiar patterns of existence around them.

Sadly the interpretation of life in no two towns will ever be exactly the same, so the example being investigated here is that of Pompeii, a city conveniently frozen in time in AD 79, approximately the date when the monumentalisation of British sites was getting underway. It is a mythical representation because even the interpretations of the city draw not only upon the archaeological remains, but also upon literary sources describing aspects of life in Rome and other geographically disparate sites. So even these narratives are conscious or unconscious amalgams of classical life in a series of townscapes, unwittingly normalising the varied experience of a wider range of towns and lives. But it will serve to give us a feeling for what a Roman Governor might expect of what he understood to be a ‘Roman town’. The concepts from social theory I want to introduce along the way are: time-space distancing; the duality of social structure; and cities as storage containers of authoritative resources. Rather than present any of these in the abstract, it would be easiest to let them arise within illustrated examples.

Social status in the Roman world and the domus

The world of the late Republic and the Empire was highly structured, with clear social orders existing. The presence of these structures should not lead to an underestimation of the social mobility between the ranks that could occur over generations (Hopkins 1983).

At the top were the Senators, about 600 in all. Senatorial rank was not strictly hereditary, though their sons were marked out, and allowed to wear the *latus clavus* (the toga with the broad purple stripe which signified senatorial rank), and to accompany their fathers to meetings of the Senate (Suet. *Aug.* 38). None the less, the distinction of being descended from a Senator lasted for three generations. Even though it is not known if any Senators ever originated from Britain, this order is important as all of the governors of the provinces were drawn from it.

The Equestrians were the second-highest rank, denoted by wearing gold rings, though only having a narrow purple stripe on their toga (*angustus clavus*). Many were up-and-coming politicians or administrators in Rome, but others had aspirations little greater than serving in their own hometowns in Italy (or elsewhere). During the time of interest to us, Augustus and Tiberius had done much to redefine these orders and create greater social distance between them and other classes. Augustus had disallowed marriage between Senators and freedwomen, whereas Tiberius required at least two generations of free birth for someone to become an Equestrian (Plin. *NH* 33.32). In themselves, these reforms show how permeable these hierarchical boundaries had become.

Beyond the core of the Roman aristocracy you had the Decuriones, the town magistrates across the Empire. Within Italy these were all Roman citizens already, but in the provinces this was a way to gain enfranchisement. Below them came a range of groups: citizens, freedmen and women, non-citizens and slaves. While technically rank was in that order, the wealth of many freedmen and the status of certain slaves meant that quality of existence and technical rank were by no means directly related.

The social order may have been enshrined in law, but social reproduction relied not upon this, but upon a wide range of acts that occurred day in and day out which reaffirmed hierarchy and the social order: in the *domus*, in the theatre, in the forum and elsewhere. Individuals within the community varying in status would meet in all these locations. When they did so they responded to each other in ways informed by social convention. In so doing both acknowledged their position in society (showing themselves to be knowledgeable and competent social actors) and at the same time reinforced these patterns of behaviour. This is what Giddens defined as the duality of structure, whereby he meant that 'the structured properties of social systems are simultaneously the medium and outcome of social acts' (Giddens 1995: 19).

The *domus* was an important location for reaffirming social structure. Within towns, the houses of the families of high status were the starting points of pieces of theatre each morning, which reinforced individuals' social position relative to each other. This was *salutatio*. At sunrise the clients of the great and the good would arrive at the entrance to their patron's *domus*, to pay their respects. Social hierarchy became visible in two ways on these occasions: first by everyone's position in the queue (most important client first); secondly by the length of the queue in front of each patron's door (more clients equals greater status). The benefit to the minion for turning up was to receive a little food or a small payment (*sportulae*). Six *sestercii* was an amount mentioned in the Republic (Mart. *Epig.* 3.7), and there is enough evidence to suggest this practice continued into the Flavian period. This visual demonstration of social hierarchy could also be replicated at dinners, where again seating and even food and drink could be determined by relative status (Mart. *Epig.* 4.68, 6.11; Plin. *Letters* 2.6.2).

Social status in the theatre and amphitheatre

Salutatio was only one occasion, but whenever there were formal meetings status would be the determinant of how people interacted. One setting where a cross-section of the town's populace might come to see itself was in the banked seats of the theatre or amphitheatre. Here law and convention segregated people according to rank. In Rome special seats were allocated to Senators, Equestrians and Citizens, and other divisions categorised people into soldiers and civilians, or created areas for boys near their tutors. To enhance the distinctions even dress codes existed (Suet. *Aug.* 4, *Claud.* 21; Dio 60.7; Tac. *Ann.* 15.32). Segregation was by no means a preserve of Rome's auditoria. The law codes of two towns in southern Spain suggest it was a matter for concern there too. In the colony of Urso it was said natives should be separated from outsiders, and massive fines could be levied if someone sat in the wrong place (*Lex. Col. Gen. Jul.* 126). None the less, Urso was a Caesarean colony, nominally a little piece of Rome far far away; however the law code from Irni reveals how things were perceived in a tiny obscure Flavian *municipium*. Here the bronze tablets show that differentiation at the theatre was something which was not reliant upon the establishment of the law codes, but was a practice already happening before Irni was elevated to its municipal status. The eighty-first chapter reads: 'whatever games are given in that *municipium* in whatsoever seats each group of men was accustomed to watch those games before this statute, they are to watch them in the same seats' (*Lex. Irnit.* 81; Gonzales and Crawford 1986). Of course we have no way of telling archaeologically to what extent these law codes were enforced, but from the literary evidence Whittaker summed it up well: 'the theatre . . . was not just a building for theatrical performances but a reproduction of the moral order of the city in symbolic form' (Whittaker

1997: 146). Law, practice, ushers and architecture all contributed to these repeated public displays of the power relations between rich and poor.

In the description above, the social relations of the entire town would be made visible, but the theatre did not just reinforce the internal civic hierarchy, but related it to the imperial one. In amongst the statues of gods and muses in the *scaenae frons* would be that of the Emperor himself; the curtains might also combine representations of Victory and bound barbarians. Collectively the ordered populace of the community saw itself in relation to the Princeps and the gods. Order was incarnate in the body of the population (Kolendo 1981).

The presence of a representation of the Princeps here is important in the integration of the community with the Empire. One thing that distinguishes cities and empires from small-scale societies is the way that individuals are integrated into a wider whole. This is what Giddens refers to as 'time-space distanciation':

Every social system in some way 'stretches' across time and space. Time-space distanciation refers to the modes in which such 'stretching' takes place or, to shift the metaphor slightly, how social systems are 'embedded' in time and space. In the smaller societies, hunters and gatherers or settled independent agricultural communities, time-space distanciation occurs primarily as a result of two connected features of societal organisation: the grounding of legitimation in tradition, and the role played by kinship in the structuration of social relations, each of which is in turn normally anchored in religion. But these societies above all involve presence, or what I term 'high presence-availability'. There are relatively few social transactions with others who are physically absent. In these societies, the human memory (expressed in knowledge of tradition, as a series of continuing practices, and in story-telling and myth) is the principal 'storage container' which 'brackets' time-space.

(Giddens 1995: 4–5)

As the scale of society changes, so less and less takes place face to face, and the number and geographical spread of people within one 'society' increase. As this happens time-space is stretched and mechanisms occur which attempt to relate distant parts of the same society. The Emperor might rarely, if ever, be seen in the cities of Campania, let alone further flung parts of the Empire. Yet his presence-availability was enhanced through strategies such as his statue presiding over events in the theatre, his image on the coinage and the actions of his agents in his name.

Social status in the forum

Memory and presence-availability were also crucial phenomena in the nature of the forum. The brain as a storage of memory retains far more than just a file of personal experiences, it is also the repository of half-remembered history: the past experiences of the collectivity. Contemporary rank and status could be continually reinforced through the use of the procession, *salutatio*, seating in the theatre, etc., but longer-term memory and that of the collectivity also needed reinforcing. This certainly happened in the fora of the cities of the Empire.

Into this arena would come the great and the good of the cities, followed in procession by their clients with whom they had been holding court earlier that morning. Their arrival itself constituted a display of the social order within the town at that time, and guaranteed the patron at least some people to applaud his speeches. However, within the forum their position was contextualised across far broader time and space through the use of statues and inscriptions.

Studies across Italy, Spain and North Africa about the placement of statues have shown relatively common patterns emerging. It seems that the size and positioning of statues was carefully tied to social status. Over half the images tended to represent the Emperor or figures closely related to him, such as Victory or *fortuna redux*. Where there was a basilica from which justice would be dispensed, this was where the Princeps's image was likely to be placed. The positioning and size of the Emperor's statue in relation to those of others was evidently regulated by its repeated mention in the treason trials under Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 1.74). This should not surprise us. Even in many modern countries representations of symbolic statues are highly controlled. For example, in Venezuela all communities have to have an image of the country's liberator, Simon Bolivar, in a square named after the hero: cities have an equestrian statue; towns show him standing; whereas villages just have a bust.

These images of the Princeps located the local populace geographically within the Empire. Whereas situating them within time were the statues of other worthies from the town's past: its patrons, Senators, Equestrians, magistrates, *curiales* and others; all displayed in clear arrangements showing relative importance (Whittaker 1997: 146). The statues provided a concrete memory of the past of the town (however fictionalised and tidied up), linked with and legitimating contemporary authority. This kind of arrangement mirrored that at the Temple of Mars Ultor in Rome, constructed by Augustus, where the descendants of the Julian house mixed with the heroes of Republican Rome to provide a visible history of the state, with Augustus conceptually at its centre (Zanker 1988: 214).

The forum was also where the city archives were kept, and where the civic charter and rulings were displayed. As such it probably contained the highest density of the written word of all the buildings in a town (cf. Hassall 2003).

All in all, to visit the forum was to see an unfolding pattern of power relationships at play (Häussler 1999; Revell 1999)

*Spatial geography in towns – procession, community
and euergetism*

As a religious, ceremonial and commercial centre, the city is a distinctive feature of all societies characterised by extensive time-space distancing; and it is the main locus of the state. Following Mumford, I regard the city in non-capitalist societies as a special form of ‘storage container’, a crucible for the generation of power upon a scale unknown to non-urbanised communities.

(Giddens 1995: 6)

Let us try to pull together some of these elements. The generation and reproduction of structures of authority are a significant function of all of these building blocks, not commercial transactions or the redistribution of goods. Each locale (*domus*, auditorium and the forum) provides for the repeated display and affirmation of the social order. Yet more often than not, towns are looked at in economic terms as centres for the redistribution of material goods (allocative resources) as economic entities; they are less often considered as centres for the manipulation of power (authoritative resources), though this is what is going to interest us here in the chapters which follow (Giddens 1995: 51). It would be worth considering how these elements linked together in the way life was enacted in the town, and to see how townscapes developed through time.

No two towns are the same, not in Britain and certainly not in Italy. Yet our aim here is to imagine the rhythms of life as might have been experienced by someone who had lived in a town in Italy but found himself on a tour of duty out in the provinces in the later first century AD, when the towns of Britain were starting to develop. Given this, Pompeii is an ideal example, well studied and particularly well preserved in just this period owing to the eruption of Vesuvius fossilising it in AD 79.

The enactment of life within Pompeii has been studied by Laurence (1994). He examined the movement of people across the townscape, relating the chronological pattern of the day's activities to the spatial geography of the town. In the traditional order of the day, after *salutatio*, the town's worthies would make their way to the forum. Behind them would process their clients and friends. As they wound their way through the streets they passed the whole variety of town life. The elite houses were not tucked away in separate residential quarters, but surrounded by smaller houses and shops. As the line passed in front of the other residents, comparisons could be seen: more might be in one procession than another; observers would note who was a client of whom. After several hours networking in the forum, the

patron might pass on to the baths in the early afternoon, by which time the temperature of the water would be at its optimum. Again, the clients might join him in procession there. Finally, at the end of the day, public business done, there would be the return home.

A key part of elite display was the movement through the city with an entourage of clients. To fulfil this need the place of residence needed to be a short distance from the forum; the baths needed to be a short distance from the forum and the place of residence, to create the possibility of people going about their daily lives seeing the passage of the elite through the city . . . It is such a temporal logic of elite activity that locates the public buildings and in particular the public baths, and also the need of the elite's residence to be separate from the place of social activity distributed the elite's place of residence throughout the city rather than concentrating them in any one area.

(Laurence 1994: 131)

Had all the public buildings been located together, with all elite residences close to the heart of the town, there would have been no purpose or role in public procession. Instead, what we have are elite residences dispersed in choice locations around the town (Woolf 1998: 117), and public monuments often similarly spread out. Having everything clustered together would have been a disaster, minimising the possibility of public display.

How did this townscape come about? Only a few towns are created afresh as new monumental endeavours, such as some of Rome's early colonies on green-field sites (e.g. Cosa). A few were extensively remodelled, but these cases were rare, such as Hadrian's expansion of Italica, the town of his adoptive father Trajan (Rodríguez Hidalgo *et al.* 2000); or the Severan redevelopment of Lepcis Magna. More often than not, towns were the cumulative result of organic growth, the outcome not of an overall redesign but of individual acts of benefaction (or *euergetism*), spread out across generations. We can see this at Pompeii, which experienced almost continuous development through the late Republic and early Principate until its ultimate destruction in AD 79. The number of temples, baths and theatres was doubled and an amphitheatre constructed. This gradual evolution provided the opportunity to change and adapt as the political and social climate altered. With the revolution of the Principate existing buildings were transformed to reflect the new order:

In this process of change, the urban elite were motivated to put up buildings to glorify the gods, their city and themselves. In this process of *euergetism*, the elite made choices about what sort of building to put up. For example Eumachia chose to build a *porticus*

dedicated to Concordia Augusta and Pietas, rather than a temple, theatre or amphitheatre. However, there would seem to have been a practical constraint upon this process. Once a city had one amphitheatre, it would not necessarily have been desirable to have another. Therefore in the period from 80 BC to AD 79, we see euergetism as a cumulative process, in which the civic identity is altered and changed through the addition of new buildings and the restoration and enhancement of the existing structures. This process closely parallels civic developments at Rome.

(Laurence 1994: 36)

In a developing townscape, the availability of space for new structures was contingent upon existing ownership rights or the fortunes of the property market. Land would rarely all be available in one location. Hence bath-houses, temples, theatres and the like would often be spread out across the town, just as elite residences were. Because of the temporal and spatial demands of social display and procession, this did not represent a problem. Sometimes euergetism would lead to the streets themselves being elaborated, with paving stones or colonnades and arches – smaller projects, which none the less again served to remind the populace of the individual benefactors.

Even though the elite may have moved between the disparate foci of the town, there was in Pompeii a sense of community on a smaller scale within the totality; this was the *vicus* or district. In Pompeii there were two local magistrates for each district. The focus for the *vicus* was not another public building but local shrines of the *lares Augusti* and the altars of the *lares Compitales* (Laurence 1994: 40); within each area there was also provision for drinking water. Whereas procession and movement across the town might have heightened and reaffirmed social ranking, the *vicus* integrated the local community in all its diversity.

Finally, individuals were also brought together in a shared ideological sense of ‘self’ expressed in the Latin term *humanitas*, often translated now as ‘civilisation’:

by the late first century BC *humanitas* had been formulated as a thoroughly Roman concept, embodying concepts of culture and conduct that were regarded by Romans as the hallmarks of the aristocracy in particular, yet also appropriate for mankind in general. *Humanitas* thus distinguished an elite as cultivated, enlightened, humane and so fitted to rule and lead by example, but it also encapsulated a set of ideals to which all men might aspire.

(Woolf 1998: 54)

So what makes a town ‘Roman’? The above gives us a flavour of what one group of people living in Italy would have considered familiar and for them

normal. The main element is a series of arenas in which individuals repeatedly recalled and reaffirmed their position within the local social structure and their place in the Empire. In terms of spatial geography we have the *vicus* providing a small-scale focus within the town. On a larger scale we have the patrons and their processions of clients wandering through the town, binding it together as they move from one locale to another dispersed across the city, reinforcing ideological norms and aspirations.

These are the kinds of life experiences that Governors, Equestrians, freedmen may have brought to Britain with them on tours of duty, or while engaged in trade in the province. But they were not the only images of communal living that immigrants could have brought with them. Many soldiers would have come with very different experiences of communal living, originating in the military camp.

Military experiences of communal living

Knowledge of living in the towns of the Empire may have arrived with freedmen trading and career aristocrats on tours of duty in the province, but they were not the only individuals acquainted with communal living arriving in numbers in Britain. The largest group by far were members of the army, though their experience and behavioural norms will have been very different. Their potential impact can be judged by the potential numbers that retired here. With four legions present in Britain for much of the later first century, between 400 and 800 legionaries would have reached retirement age every year, added to which should be a comparable number of auxiliaries (Mann 1983: 59). Some may have returned home, but a high proportion tended to settle in their last province, either in the new military veteran colonies, near their garrisons or elsewhere. The scale of this form of immigration needs to be recognised:

To understand the context of the foundations of Gloucester and Lincoln, it is first necessary to consider the destination of legionary veterans who, in the period of a little over half a century between the invasion of 43 and the foundation of these two *coloniae*, might have numbered in excess of 20,000 men. In the first place, the foundation of the *colonia* at Camulodunum in 49 would have accommodated all those who chose to retire in Britain over a period of, perhaps, a decade or less. Even if only half the veterans chose to stay in Britain and we assign three dependants to each, that would give a total of some 6,000 over 10 years. That would have provided Camulodunum with a substantial population which, allowing for dependants, would have exceeded the estimates . . . for any urban population in the history of Roman Britain.

(Fulford 1999b: 177)

It is on this basis we need to understand the experience and values that Roman soldiers will have brought to the creation of towns in Roman Britain. What was life in forts like? How similar or different was it to the rhythms of life in an Italian town? Both had rectilinear streets; both had specific rituals associated with their foundation (Rykwert 1976), but what of day-to-day living? The notion that the fort was like a town was a common idea, as Livy describes: 'this abode is the soldier's second homeland; its rampart serves as his city walls, and his tent is the soldier's hearth and home' (Liv. 44.39). Polybius similarly remarked that 'the whole camp . . . forms a square, and the way in which the streets are laid out and its general arrangement give it the appearance of a town' (Polyb. 6.31.10). This statement is often quoted, but what is not is his further explanation of why the camp felt like a town. The key aspect was familiarity, everyone knowing his place. As an army moved on campaign, it sent scouts ahead to decide where to camp for the night. Before the main party arrived, a military tribune and selected centurions charged with the task would have marked out the form and shape of the fort with differently coloured flags. A white flag for the *praetorium*, crimson for principal intersects of the streets, and other colours and spears for additional key positions.

Consequently it is obvious that when the legions march up and get a good view of the site for the camp, all the parts of it are known at once to everyone, as they have only to reckon from the position of the consul's flag. So that, as everyone knows exactly in which street and in what part of the street his tent will be, since all invariably occupy the same place in camp, the encamping somewhat resembles the return of an army to its native city. For then they break up at the gate and everyone goes straight from there and reaches his own house without fail, as he knows both the quarter and the exact spot where his residence is situated. It is very much the same thing in a Roman camp.

The Romans by thus studying convenience in this matter pursue, it seems to me, a course diametrically opposite to that usually among the Greeks. The Greeks in encamping think it of primary importance to adapt the camp to the natural advantages of the ground, first because they shirk the labour of entrenching, and next because they think artificial defences are not equal in value to the fortifications which nature provides unaided on the spot. So that as regards the plan of the camp as a whole they are obliged to adopt all kinds of shapes to suit the nature of the ground, and they often have to shift the parts of the army to unsuitable situations, the consequence being that everyone is quite uncertain whereabouts in the camp his own place or the place of his corps is. The Romans on the contrary prefer to submit to the fatigue of entrenching and other defensive

work for the sake of the convenience of having a single type of camp which never varies to be familiar to all.

(Polyb. 6.41.9–42.5)

Familiarity and ontological security seem to outweigh defensive considerations. A fort was a community that re-created itself whenever it pitched camp. Indeed the word Polybius uses is *polis*, which combines the notion of a town and the countryside bonded into a community, not just the bricks and mortar of the urban environment. In much the same way as towns developed their own rhythms of life, so too did the military, the community being united by the routinisation (and in cases ritualisation) of many activities. Howard (1993) noted how modern writers who had experienced military life often reflected on this activity:

Robert Graves and Evelyn Waugh delighted in regimental minutiae. David Jones recreated in *In Parenthesis* the rhythm and chores of trench warfare . . . Anthony Powell went into almost obsessive detail in describing the functioning of a divisional staff. This is what most soldiers, even in wartime, spend most of their time doing: making the machine work. Fighting is brief, unpredictable, intermittent. Of the totality of military experience it is a small even if a colourful part.

(Howard 1993: 182–3)

This routinisation is reflected in the ancient literary record too. Tomlin (1999: 127) reflected on how many of the fragments of writing tablets in Britain related to precisely this kind of activity, rather than the cut and thrust of battle and conquest. Ritualisation can also be seen in the plethora of festivals in the military calendar, observed with sacrifice or parades (see the *Feriale Duranum*, from the archives of the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum stationed at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates: Fink *et al.* 1940).

As in a town, within the community of the army there was a clear hierarchy. At the top was the commander of the Legion (*legatus Augusti legionis*) assisted by his senior tribune (*tribunus militum legionis laticlavus*). Both held Senatorial rank and retained these offices as part of their career progression in public service. The second tier of the Roman hierarchy, the Equestrian order, was represented here by five junior tribunes (*tribuni militum angusticlavii*), each responsible for two cohorts. Separate from these were the career soldiers, led by the *praefectus castrorum*, a former centurion, and formally the third in command in the camp. Beneath him were the fifty-nine centurions and the rest of the rank and file (cf. Webster 1985). Two separate classes of people, the career aristocrats and the rest. However, it would have been the ranks up to the *praefectus castrorum* who would have been most likely to remain and settle in a province like Britain. Amongst them there was room for promotion and decorations that would have ranked individuals.

In the spatial geography of Pompeii we noted that the elite were spread out across the town, intermixed with the rest of the populace (Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 1991), partly so that social positioning could be reaffirmed in visibility and movement through the town; similarly the public buildings were also spread out. However, in a fortress rank was not up for negotiation in the same way and the spatial geography of the military elite's residences and the communal buildings is very different. The hierarchical divisions were made clear in the living arrangements in the camps (cf. Johnson 1983). From the earliest description of the layout of tents by Polybius (6.27–42) in the mid second century BC, to the physical evidence of the stone-built fortresses of the frontier several centuries later, we see these divisions enshrined in the plan. While in Pompeii the members of the elite were dispersed amongst the different town districts or *vici*, in forts they were zoned and clustered. The *via principalis* was where all the principals of the officer and soldier ranks lived. Here were the six houses of the Senatorial and Equestrian tribunes, all located near to the heart of the camp, the *principia* and *praetorium*. Even the centurions of the first cohort (the most experienced soldiers) were given more lavish quarters and placed along this street. The picture here is radically different from the dispersed elite of Pompeii.

We can see all this in the layout of the legionary fort at Caerleon (Figure 4.2). Here the only member of the elite not to live directly on the *via principalis* was the *legatus legionis* himself, here situated in his palatial residence just behind the *principia*. The *principia* was where the standards of the legion were kept, and the strong-room. Originally, in temporary camps under canvas, this was an open area in front of the *praetorium*, or Legate's tent. In this arrangement the commander's residence had been the principal focal point of attention. As time went on, and Roman military architecture developed, this focus shifted to the *aedes* in the centre of the *principia*, where the legionary standards were kept. This subtly shifted the focus of loyalty away from the commander to images relating to Rome and the Emperor (Blagg 2000). Caerleon, for its date, is perhaps a slightly archaic example. The Legate's palace is still situated behind the *principia* in its original position. In many other fortresses constructed around this date, and certainly later, the *praetorium* has often been located along the *via principalis*, alongside rather than behind the *praetorium*. This means all the upper elite of the fortress now lived along the main road, with the rank and file being tucked behind.

After active service, the Senatorial and Equestrian elite will largely have gone home, though one tombstone in Colchester attests to one who did not make it (RIB 202). However, the way of living that will have become embedded in the minds of the veterans will have included the idea of hierarchical residential zoning. In the main, all the key buildings were clustered in one place, generally the middle of the fort. They would have gained no experience of the notion of procession from different locales to the forum and baths, though they would have had alternative parade drills. Baths differed a bit in

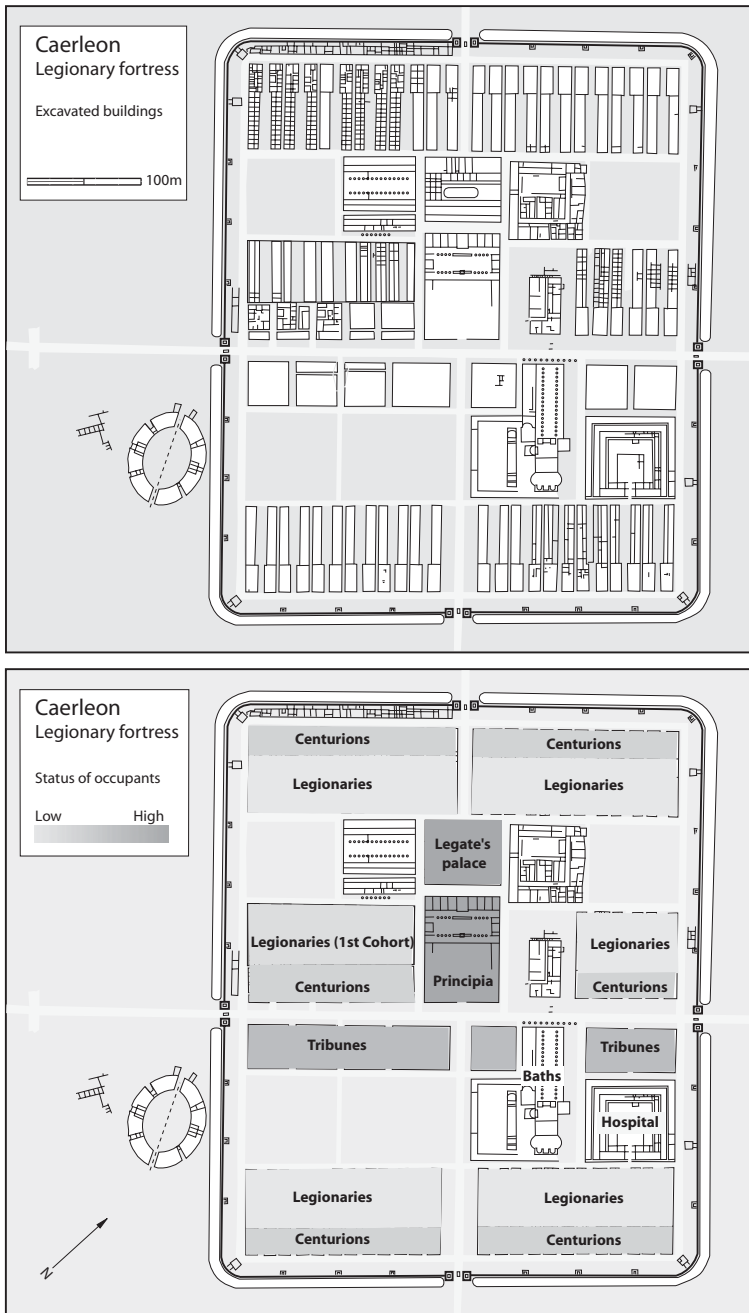


Figure 4.2 The layout of the legionary fort at Caerleon (after Webster 1985)

their location in and around forts, but otherwise things were pretty much fixed. Even if some of these veterans had been born in Italy, which a few of the original settlers may have been, their long service would have meant that their way of being would have been drummed into them by army life.

I think that a site on the continent that is well worth attention as an example of this phenomenon in action is the enigmatic enclosure at Waldgirmes in the Lahn valley (Hessen, Germany). In this area a series of Augustan marching camps were 'known' from aerial photography. This was in a part of Germany that was eventually to be given up after the annihilation of Varus' legions in the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9 (Schlüter 1999). Development threatened this site, so excavations began. In overall form it was similar to other military forts with its double defensive ditch and its trapezoidal shape. However, the density of the initial finds suggested that it was a permanent base rather than just a marching camp, containing a full range of internal buildings (e.g. Wigg 1999: 39). However there were a number of puzzles. Unlike the other Augustan bases along the Lippe, such as Haltern, Oberaden and Anreppen, there was a high proportion of 'Germanic' pottery from this site, something which would have been exceptional for a fort; but there was not an evident earlier or later settlement that this could have come from. As more of the site was dug the classic military buildings that were expected did not emerge. Instead of finding military barracks aligning the roads, buildings more like *tabernae* were found fronted by porticos, all far more typical of Roman urban architecture inasmuch as the two were diverging at this date. Instead of finding a *principia* in the centre of the fort they discovered what they eventually came to interpret as a forum, complete with five pedestals for gilded marble equestrian statues, fragments of which were recovered. The way the site has gone on to be interpreted is that it is one of the towns which Varus claimed were being constructed (though which no one had yet found) in Augustan Germany: 'cities were being founded, the barbarians were beginning to adapt their lifestyle to that of the Romans and were setting up markets and peaceful assemblies' (Dio 56.18; von Schnurbein 2003). Perhaps the inspiration for the form of the town came from some of its founders who may have spent time as Roman auxiliaries; after all, even Arminius, author of Varus' defeat, had been in the Roman army. In our minds we often try to separate civilian from military, but here the ambiguity in interpretation suggests that the separation was not something in the minds of the Germans who constructed this site 2,000 years ago. Their model of Roman nucleation was coming from the dense settlements of Roman troops called forts, not the far away cities of the Mediterranean.

We will now turn our attention to the new Province of Britannia. Here monumental centres emerged in the late first century AD: fora, bath-houses, temples, theatres and amphitheatres were all constructed. All the elements and building blocks familiar to somewhere like Pompeii. But how comparable is the way that these elements were combined? Did the makers of the

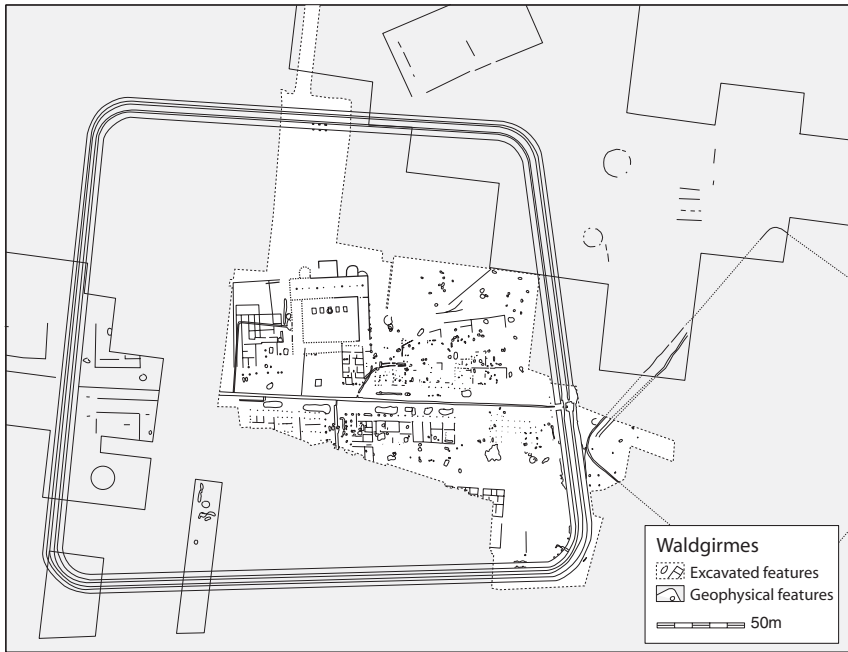


Figure 4.3 The plan of Waldgirmes (after von Schnurbein 2003 with additions from Dornbusch 2004)

towns of Roman Britain reconstruct the kinds of patterns of existence that would have been familiar to someone travelling here from Campania? In the following chapters we will examine heterogeneity of the towns in Britain, from the mini-metropolis of London to the cities built out of the shells of fortresses, but we will conclude by returning to the seats of power of the kings of Later Iron Age Britain to find very different practices emerging there. In all cases we have different individuals, with varied life experiences, muddling through; each intending to create his own version of a Roman town, each inventing something quite different.

THE CREATION OF THE FAMILIAR

In Hong Kong in the early 1980s, a social housing project built flats for a community of boat people, moving them from their floating residences onto shore. This was perceived as ‘bettering’ them, or perhaps ‘civilising’ them. The architect, pleased with his work, revisited the project six months after the resettlement and was astonished at what he saw. The fitted cupboards had been ripped out and the entire floor covered with decking, raising the surface by half a metre. Through this, below-deck hatches had been constructed for storage. In this new environment the boat people had re-created their old one, replacing the strange new fittings with a means of storage that was familiar and reassuring. It is a tale repeated on many levels around the world. Travel to Majorca, and in different holiday resorts around the coast you will find places which (certain) Britons or Germans can feel quite at home in, with tandoori chicken or sauerkraut displacing local delicacies. Re-creating the familiar is something that many people indulge in as part of generating for themselves ontological security. This refers to the comfort and familiarity of ‘everyday lives’, doing things one day after another. Giddens (1995: 11) considered that in non-capitalist societies everyday life was geared to tradition, with time experienced as part of the re-enactment of traditional practices. I see the creation of London in this vein, as being the re-establishment of a familiar environment by the cosmopolitan population who visited, resided or were seconded there.

London’s origins

Roman London was a virgin foundation. It was not based upon the remains of a military fortress as Colchester, Gloucester and Lincoln were; nor was it the development of an Iron Age *oppidum*. At the time of the Claudian annexation the only evidence we have for London is ephemeral traces of occupation in Southwark that amounted to little more than the possible remains of a few timber buildings, and the curious find of a Roman military axe (15–23 Southwark Street: Beard and Cowan 1988: 376; Perring 1991: 3). Further excavations in Southwark have not revealed other features earlier

than c.AD 50, so these buildings were relatively isolated (Drummond-Murray and Thompson 2002). However, nothing is known north of the river where the 'Roman' city was to grow. None the less, this settlement began to emerge in the early AD 50s around a T-junction where the road over London Bridge met a perpendicular street parallel to the Thames. Here there was a gravel area, like a market place, later to be monumentalised as the town's forum. A parallel road closer to the waterfront suggests an elementary ordered plan, even from this early date forming what was to become the basis of a rectilinear layout. Within the first decade major infrastructural work had taken place developing these roads and piped water, even though no public buildings before the Boudican revolt of AD 60/1 are yet known. While wattle and daub construction predominated, Purbeck marble, painted wall-plaster and *opus signinum* floors were already adorning some of the buildings, embellishments otherwise extremely rare in pre-Flavian Britain.

How had this settlement come into being? The agency for its creation has often been pondered upon. Competing interpretations want to see the town's origins as military or civilian, generating a neat dichotomy. The military proponents have searched for a Claudian fort that they imagined London grew up around (Merrifield 1965: 34; Chapman and Johnson 1973: 71). None has been discovered, though some still seek it (Morris 1982: 78; Fuentes 1985). The alternative interpretation is to believe Tacitus, who described London not as a Roman city but as an important centre for businessmen and merchandise (Tac. *Ann.* 14.32). Haverfield (1911) saw entrepreneurial activity as the origin of the town, and Marsden revived this idea later in the century (Marsden 1980: 17–26; see also Millett 1994: 433; 1996: 34).

Even if the idea of a civilian origin is preferred, London's creation was not totally devoid of official involvement. The road network that focused upon the city was not an organic spontaneous growth, but a series of military supply routes. The bridge over the Thames was similarly almost certainly an official commission. Any settlement around it was immediately of strategic value, bringing supplies inland and saving journey time from a landing at Richborough. While London may have had a strong element of entrepreneurial adventurism in its population, that was inseparable from the military strategic aspect. Much of the movement of staple products across the Empire was directed by the state as taxation in kind and provision for the army. This movement was more often than not contracted out. Evidence for the long-distance transportation of goods, where 'free market forces' are most unlikely to have been involved, comes from close to the site of the later forum. Here, several buildings were revealed of similar construction to those at the legionary fortress in Colchester; within them were found the charred remains of grain probably imported from the east Mediterranean. In terms of agency and the establishment of London it is difficult, and probably anachronistic, to create official/entrepreneurial dichotomies. The two were intrinsically linked, quite literally feeding off each other.

None the less, to think of the river crossing in entirely strategic terms is to miss out on understanding a crucial element of ancient thought. The Thames was not just a transport route or an obstacle; it was, as all major rivers were, a god. Major waterways, be they seas or rivers, had in classical antiquity frequently been viewed as deities. In all of their campaigns against Britain, Caesar, Gaius and Claudius had all used the motif of a conquest of the deity Ocean, as they navigated the English Channel. The crossing of all waterways by boat or over a bridge was a significant undertaking, often involving specific rituals. In Rome itself the Tiber had long since been venerated, and the first bridge over the river, the Pons Sublicius, was the centre for many rituals performed by the Vestals and *pontifices*. Indeed popular etymology derived the word for priest (*pontifex*) from 'bridge-maker' (Braund 1996: 19). Within the southeast of Britain itself, the Thames was the major river that dominated geography, while at London the daily confrontation between the river and the tidal surges of Ocean could be witnessed. The construction of a bridge not only represented a significant infrastructural achievement, but was also a fundamental symbol of conquest, bridging the lifeblood of water which flowed through and bound together the south of England. The Roman conception and mindset would have probably meshed with native traditions that had seen extensive veneration and deposition in the river slightly further upstream at Battersea and above (Fitzpatrick 1984).

A further consideration of London's position is in relation to the political geography of the time. It has been imagined as occupying a liminal space on the edge of various Later Iron Age territories, with the Catuvellauni to the northwest, Trinovantes to the northeast, Cantiaci to the southeast and Atrebates to the southwest. Projecting back our imagined Roman *civitates* boundaries into the Later Iron Age is a dangerous procedure, whereby one projects and therefore sees continuity of social structure either side of the conquest (a classic circular argument). None the less, the circulation areas of certain coins within the kingdom of Cunobelin's dynasty do appear to support the existence of a series of discrete domains in Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire, dividing up the polity as a whole; and London does seem to be on the boundary of many of them, perhaps providing a neutral market from which to link in to multiple social networks (Millett 1990a: 89; 1996: 34; Perring 1991: 21; De Jersey 2001).

No single explanation will ever sum up the foundation. However, what is interesting here is the way the population of the city developed and embellished their surroundings. The real expansion of London came after the Boudican revolt; for several generations lasting into the mid-second century a succession of major building works were undertaken. The city rapidly accumulated the full range of 'public buildings' that are normally to be expected in a Roman town (with the exception, so far, of a theatre). We will examine these in some detail shortly, but first, how has development in London been imagined?

London's development – previous explanations

By the middle of the second century London had a massive forum, baths, amphitheatre and many other well-furnished buildings. One phrase that is often used in describing the creation of these is to talk of a 'public building programme' launched in the AD 70s, as if some long-term scheme existed which the civic authorities subscribed to for a period of a century. Even if wealthy individuals are imagined as privately sponsoring separate buildings, there is still a reluctance to believe that any of this could have taken place outside a carefully co-ordinated programme of works. Indeed it has often been suggested that the construction work in London was the consequence of a state decision to create a showpiece provincial capital (Salway 1981: 57; Merrifield 1983: 87; Perring 1991: 42; though the entire notion of provincial capitals may be anachronistic: Millett 1998). The view rests on the idea of active 'Romanisation' by the state, or leading by example, in a way which we will see again when discussing Colchester. Dedictory inscriptions are rare, and are insufficient to be able to support any arguments as to the specific benefactors behind individual buildings. However, tiles stamped PP.BR.LON (Procurator of the Province of Britain at London) have been found in some buildings, though not in significant numbers, which has encouraged some to imagine the Procurator as the prime benefactor.

Military involvement has been invoked in a number of building projects. Down by the river, some new quays were constructed around AD 52. These modest moorings were significantly expanded after the Boudican revolt in over three decades of construction work. From the infilling of part of the later superstructure at Regis House came a fragment of scale armour (*lorica squamata*) and a fragment of tent leather; while another quay timber dated to AD 63 had a brand impressed twice upon it which has been read as *(Th)rac(orum) Augusta*, linking it to a military unit (Brigham 1998: 23). In this case military involvement appears to be clear; hardly surprising since the quays and the major roads through southeast Britain formed part of the backbone of the military supply routes. However nothing is quite as simple as it seems. The interpretation of the brand is less than clear, invoking a unit that is otherwise unknown (no Thracian unit in Britain was hitherto known to bear the title 'Augusta': Hassall and Tomlin 1996: 449).

A second project where the army's participation was considered was the construction of the Huggin Hill baths. These showed such sophistication and precision in their design that it was thought they *must* have involved military surveyors, again bringing the agency of the state into the equation (Bateman 1998: 48). At least in the first case there was arguable evidence for a military link, but the second is based simply upon an imagination of Roman Britain that seeks military involvement in any major construction project. The Huggin Hill baths were enlarged in the early second century. Again external agencies were invoked to explain this; on this occasion it was

imagined as an imperial benefaction connected with the visit of Hadrian to the province (AD 122; Bateman 1998).

Related to this question of benefactors has been the whole thorny problem of the status of Roman London. As mentioned earlier, it fails to fit in neatly with our division of towns into *coloniae*, *municipia* and *civitas* capitals, since it is referred to as none of these things. Despite its being Britain's largest city, Ptolemy placed it in his *Geography* within the territory of the Cantiaci with no particular designation (Ptol. *Geog.* 2.3.13). Canterbury is usually thought of as the main town of that *civitas*, as it had the original name *Durovernum Cantiacorum* (slightly misspelled in the *Ravenna Cosmography* 106.36). A document has even been found from London as if to confirm this, mentioning a legal dispute over a five-acre piece of woodland which is described as being in the territory not of London, but of the Cantiaci (Tomlin 1996). All we know is that Tacitus wrote of Colchester and Verulamium as a colony and a *municipium*, but chose to describe London differently as a town of merchants, clearly suggesting it had neither status (Tac. *Ann.* 14.32). However, Tacitus must be used with care. He was recounting the story of the Boudican revolt, and intended to convey widespread devastation. He reported three cities sacked: a city of Roman veterans, a city of Roman traders and a city of would-be Romans. Tacitus is dealing with caricatures here to make a point that all things Roman were attacked. He is conveying a 'greater truth' rather than specific legal technical terms, on which he is at other times faulty (Esmonde Cleary 1998a: 42). None the less, extensive speculation has taken place as to if and when London became a *municipium* and/or a colony. Indeed the imagined building programme has been used to bolster such interpretations. The first masonry forum has been taken to reflect London gaining municipal status, and its later enlargement as relating to an upgrading to colonial status (Merrifield 1983: 71; Wilkes 1996: 29–30). That fora might have nothing to do with status is clear from elsewhere, where towns like Alesia had impressive fora, even though that site is not even considered to be a '*civitas* capital', as that accolade amongst the people of the Aedui is normally granted to Autun (though see Laurence 2001b for problems associated with this term).

Officialdom, directed action and explicit links between chartered status and public munificence are seen in most interpretations of London. This contrasts totally with the kind of piecemeal development evident in towns such as Pompeii, taking place over generations by a multiplicity of individual actions rather than conforming to a grand design. Can the archaeology of London be read in such a way?

The people of London

Rather than thinking of abstract 'public building programmes' and conjectured policies of 'Romanisation', it might be helpful to imagine the

individuals who lived in London, who were all active participants in shaping the city around them, in creating needs and fulfilling desires. What do we know of these people? Tacitus represented the early town as being full of traders and merchants (Tac. *Ann.* 14.32). This led Haverfield and various successors to imagine early London as being a *conventus civium Romanorum*. Wilkes recently provided such towns with a wonderfully unglamorous write-up. He described them as:

a particular form of community, with no defined legal status or organization, which sprang up in many parts of the Roman world and through which the citizens of the conquering power could harvest the profits of empire from subject populations, helpless when confronted by the ruthless money-lenders and conniving Roman officers and magistrates. Many of these Roman settlements grew up in or alongside major native centres, by whom they were invariably detested, especially in the eastern Greek-speaking provinces.

(Wilkes 1996: 28)

Despite not having any official status, many re-created familiar institutions around them, such as *magistri* and *quaestores*, to ensure that basic services within the town were provided. These are recorded for *conventus* settlements elsewhere. Freedmen were prominent in these towns. They were often involved in trade, acting under the patronage of members of the Roman aristocracy (D'Arms 1981). It is highly unlikely that they were not active in the trade and commerce of London along with Gallic and British tradesmen. However the patrons of the freedmen in London were the very individuals who through euergetism were constructing, embellishing and creating the city landscapes of Italy and elsewhere. The freedmen would have seen how their one-time owners, now patrons, acted: receiving clients, living within the cityscape and conducting business of all sorts. Many such freedmen would have travelled extensively and would have understood the *modus vivendi* of town life as they had experienced and witnessed it. People are apt to re-create patterns of behaviour instilled in them when young, or which, repeated so often, become 'natural' to them. We should not be surprised if a settlement of Roman traders, intimately associated with the Roman aristocracy, re-created around them familiar surroundings from the start. To be sure, from very early on the Roman taboos on burial within the city limits were adhered to (though as the city expanded, so some early cemeteries came to be built upon). This is far from the case on the Iron Age sites of central southern Britain, where fragmentary scattered human remains, probably from excarnation, are common on sites, and where bodies in pits are not unusual. Another familiar feature was the preservation of a central gravelled meeting space at the heart of the community. This was the area which would be monumentalised in the Flavian period to become the first stone-built forum, but it probably served just such

a purpose from the start. When we think of the development of towns and the benefaction of 'public buildings' we should not just think of the landed aristocracy and possibly the state paying for these. In Ostia, baths, *borea* and temples were financed by groups of merchants and collective interests (Blagg 1996: 46). The freedmen and traders who I suspect made up a significant part of the population of London may not have been quite as greedy and shady as the image Wilkes portrayed above suggests. They may, after all, have been the very pioneers living in the early wattle and daub houses adorned with painted wall-plaster and *opus signinum* floors.

A second significant group of individuals who can be associated with London are the bureaucrats working in the Procurator's office. This was probably based in London from an early date, and was certainly here from the appointment of Julius Alpinus Classicianus in the aftermath of the Boudican revolt. A tombstone commemorating him was erected by his wife suggesting he died while on duty here (RIB 12; Grasby and Tomlin 2002). The office was mainly concerned with the financial affairs of the province, including the collection of taxation. An example of their official stationery has survived in the form of a single leaf of a folding wooden writing tablet, branded with a stamp on the side saying: *Proc(uratores) Aug(usti) Prov(inciae) Dederunt Brit(anniae)* – 'the procurators of the Emperor in the Province of Britain issued this' (RIB 2 2443.2). The paperwork must have been extensive, requiring a vast number of administrators to deal with the census returns. The sheer scale of administration involved in detailed taxation is staggering, with land and property having to be assessed. This required an army of freedmen and slaves to run the record office (*tabularium*). The early Roman Empire is sometimes characterised as having a minimal bureaucracy, but this impression is on occasion rather misleading, as Nicolet points out in his exploration of what was involved in measuring and assessing the Empire (Nicolet 1991).

As well as the Procurator, it is likely that the Governor's *officium* was located in London. While the Governor in his role as military chief and judge might be away on campaign or assizes much of the time, most of his staff remained stationary to administer his affairs, directed by a legionary centurion on secondment (*princeps praetorii*). Amongst the many roles there were administrative officers and their assistants (*cornicularii* and *adiutores*), accountants and their assistants (*commentarienses*), clerks (*librarii*), shorthand writers (*exceptores*), tax collectors (*exacti*) and torturers (*quaestionarii*). It is suggested the office would have contained around 200 men. Alongside this was the registry (*tabularium*) headed by a clerk of Equestrian status. To these can be added soldiers on secondment, including 30–40 military policemen (*speculatores*), a significant number of bodyguards drawn from the auxiliary (*equites* and *pedites singulares*), and anything from 180–240 selected legionaries who had received the patronage of the Governor dealing with such things as military supply (*beneficarii consularii*). When the Boudican revolt erupted, it was probably a selection of these soldiers that the Procurator, Decianus Catus, sent to the aid

of the veterans at Colchester (Tac. *Ann.* 14.32). Finally, amongst the administrative and army personnel would be friends and advisers (*assessores*), whom the Governor had selected and brought with him (Jones 1949; Mann 1961; Hassall 1973, 1996; Rankov 1999). While much of the entourage of Governors and Procurators comes from comparison with information from other provinces, enough can also be corroborated from tombstones and writing tablets to suggest that the picture is broadly representative (RIB 12, 17, 19, 88, 235; *ILS* 1883; Birley 1966: 228; Bowman and Thomas 1994: no. 154).

Beyond the official bureaucrats others would have arrived – teachers, medics – all with roles to play in any large community. Some would have come with their rich patrons on secondment, others may have found their own way here. Aulus Alfidius Olussa from Athens whose tombstone is recorded may have been one such person (RIB 9).

The social mix that this brought to London therefore included a cross-section of ways of life from the upper echelons of Roman aristocracy (Senators and Equestrians), freedmen, and a range of individuals drawn out of the military. Fulford (1998: 109) noted the transience of much of this population, only in London for short tours of duty. But for imagining how people lived out their lives in the city this is of particular interest and importance. When people are thrown together for short periods, symbolism becomes very important in status display to establish rapidly and clearly who is who, and how people had to relate to each other. The very temporary nature of certain elements of the population in London may have made it all the more important for status markers to be visible, such as the number of clients attending on a patron.

The Governor himself was an ex-Consul, and as such he would be thoroughly versed in appropriate behaviour, having the right to have five *lictors* walk before him bearing the *fascies*, the symbol of high office, when he paraded through the city or province at large. That governors required such ceremonial, even in a remote provincial town such as London, is evidenced by a recently discovered tombstone from Whitechapel, which appears to mention *antecursores Britannici*, literally ‘those who go in front’, i.e. the footboys of the Governor (Hassall 1996: 21). Specific details of how high-ranking Equestrians or rich freedmen acted are for the moment beyond us. One could imagine resident Equestrians, such as the Governor’s clerk and *assessores*, as being equally concerned with making *their* rank visible and unambiguous. We know from satirical literature of the time, rich freedmen were also very interested in status display (cf. Trimalchio in Petronius’ *Satyricon*).

The wide variety of ‘foreign’ individuals temporarily resident within London came from across the Roman world. What bound together these different identities from disparate locations was the shared value-system of *humanitas*. From its Greek origins to its Roman refinement the term had undergone many transformations. Cicero had contrasted both definitions in the *de Republica*. For a Greek, the difference between civilisation and barbarism

rested upon language and descent. For Cicero it rested more upon custom (*mores*). In Roman eyes, whereas strange languages, bizarre behaviour and moral inferiority were still hallmarks of the barbarian, common descent had ceased to be an issue, so barbarians could become civilised (Woolf 1998: 58). *Humanitas* was no longer a facet of ethnic identity, so much as a way of being which could bring unity to the increasing diversity within the Empire. This commonality of thought amongst many people, even if only temporarily resident in London, helped make this cosmopolitan city in a backwater of the Empire function.

What of the 'native' Britons? It is almost certain that the descendants of the friendly kings would have been Roman citizens. Similarly the families of many of the larger landowners are likely to have been enfranchised by specific grants or through holding office in selected towns or priesthoods. Many of them would have resided and operated within their family homelands; however, the requirement to have political links and indeed patronage at the political centre of the province was vital. It is quite plausible that the benefactors of Roman London included individuals from elsewhere in the province, paying for buildings or games to bring prestige to themselves or their *civitas*. Archaeologically, we can see the impact of regional traditions influencing construction in London. Both Henig (1996) and Merrifield (1996) have observed the large number of sculptural links between London and the west country, not just in terms of quarried stone, but also relating to sculptural tradition and cults, making us aware that London had a draw upon the 'British' aristocracy as well as other Romans from the continent.

The 'British' elite of the individual *civitates* also came together to act in the form of the Provincial Council. This group was formally charged with the organisation of the 'Imperial cult', which potentially had as its focal point an altar dedicated to Roma and Augustus. The only firm evidence for the location of the council is the presence in London of a tombstone to the young wife of Anencletus, a slave of the Provincial Council (RIB 21). Often it is imagined that this cult was based at Colchester (e.g. Richmond 1955: 186; Drury 1984: 24), but there is no direct evidence for this. Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.31) only makes reference to the *constitutum* of the temple to the divine Claudius and does not mention a cult to *Roma et Augustus* or a Provincial Assembly there (cf. Simpson 1993: 4). Mann considered it as nothing other than 'a temple built after his death to Claudius as the founder of the colony, and on land possessed by the colony – a temple which had to be maintained by the Trinovantes, who had been made subjects of the colony, hence their rebellion in AD 61' (Mann 1998: 338). The argument that it may have been the provincial cult centre came principally from considering the altar in front of the temple. This had a series of columns surrounding it, and Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.31) mentioned the presence of a statue of Victory falling over as an ill omen. These images have associations with the provincial altar at Lugdunum of the three Gauls, which on coins is shown as having columns bearing

Victories flanking it (cf. Fishwick 1972: 168). However, images of Victory at a colony entitled *Colonia Victricensis* are hardly surprising, and need not presage the invocation of a provincial cult. As Fishwick himself said, 'insufficient evidence makes a final solution in practice hardly possible; anyone laying the law down on the subject does so at his peril' (Fishwick 1972: 180).

Finally, to this range of immigrants and visitors, from the Empire and elsewhere in Britain, can be added migrants from the countryside. Warfare and revolt always creates refugees and the dispossessed, so as existing social relations in parts of the country changed with new colonists settling, and as new power structures evolved, it is likely that economic migration took place as well. Collectively all of these inflated the population of London so it was to become one of the largest cities north of the Alps. Indeed even by Italian standards it is large and exceptional, though still nothing compared to the metropolis that was Rome.

It was this remarkable assortment of people, from Roman aristocrats down to dispossessed peasants, which came together and, with a mixture of levels of social competence in each other's eyes, tried to get through the process of living as best they could. London was the physical by-product of this.

Building London

It would be nice to imagine London as having been constructed in an orderly way, with a coherent town plan, street grid and spaces reserved for the major public buildings. This would fit in with our modern-day notions of town planning and interlinking building programmes, but it is also the model of corporate action, not of individual benefaction. When it comes to examining the detail of London this overall coherence seems to be singularly lacking. The layout appears to develop in a very piecemeal way, one that suggests individual actions rather than the implementation of an overarching framework.

In the earliest period of the town, the first revetments on the quayside were being constructed by AD 52 (Brigham 1998: 23), and a space was kept clear where the road from the Thames bridge came up to the main east–west route. This gravel area was the forum. A forum is not a building, but a space for a series of functions to take place in. That it had not been monumentalised or turned into bricks and mortar makes it no less the central assembly point in the town.

The first monumentalisation of the town, suggesting significant benefaction by an unknown individual or group, came in the mid AD 70s, when the earliest masonry forum was constructed (Marsden 1987). This was small by comparison to the forum being built at Verulamium, but it was still impressive with its ragstone masonry and tile courses, compared to the contemporary timber structures standing at Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000). This building graced the southern side of the hill, on the slope overlooking the Thames.



Figure 5.1 The development of Roman London, c.AD 55 and 95 (after Perring 1991 with additions)

The forum square was divided into an upper and a lower terrace, enabling a panorama of much of the river crossing and Southwark to be visible from the upper level. There was no axial temple within this forum-basilica, but immediately to the west of it stood a separate small shrine, curiously not integral to the design. This less than classical arrangement does not inspire the notion that this complex was an imperial benefaction.

More-or-less contemporary with this, a stone aisled building was constructed at 5–12 Fenchurch Street, which has been interpreted as the meeting place of a *collegium* or guild. Alternatively it has been identified as a *macellum*, or market (Hammer 1987: 5–12). Both interpretations potentially represent the collective action of the traders of the town, but without epigraphy the architectural form of the building is not distinctive enough from other aisled buildings for us to be sure about its function.

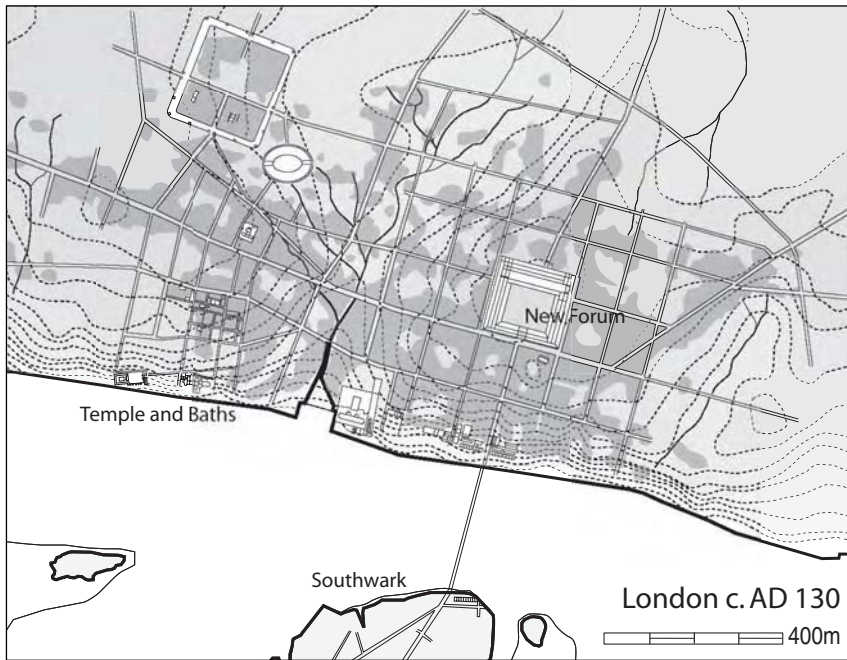


Figure 5.2 The development of Roman London, c.AD 130 (after Perring 1991 with additions)

By the Flavian period much of the central area of London had been built up. The forum had been constructed, but around this there were no spare sites for development. Had anyone wanted to build new monuments then edge-of-town locations would be required. Even at this stage, had a master plan existed for the development of London then it would still have been possible to set aside space for new monuments to be constructed together on the hill to the west of the Wallbrook, but this did not happen. Separate individual plots around the city were selected for the other building projects of the AD 70s. There is no sign of any central authority allocating and designing space; even the orthogonal road system went a little awry as the town expanded to the west.

Closest in, but by the waterfront and on the other side of the Wallbrook, the Huggin Hill baths were constructed on a massive platform, which saw substantial oak piles covered with a 1m-thick concrete raft (c.AD 75–80). It has been commented that the quality of work that went into these baths was much greater than that which went into the forum, which might suggest that different patrons had been involved in commissioning these projects (Bateman 1998: 54).

Further to the northwest the first timber amphitheatre was built, some time shortly after AD 70. Soon these were complemented by another set of baths at Cheapside (Marsden 1976: 30–46; Merrifield 1983: 87). Then another complex was added at the mouth of the Wallbrook, now under Cannon Street station. This structure was once referred to as ‘the governor’s palace’ (Marsden 1975, 1978), though as further excavations have taken place this idea has fallen out of favour (Milne 1996; recent excavations: Brigham and Woodger 2001). Perring (1991: 34) considered the complex had many similarities with the Trajanic baths at Cominbriga, so it may be that London had yet another set of baths to add to its complement.

Over the course of time many of these buildings were refurbished. The main forum was enlarged on a massive scale to produce the largest building complex north of the Alps. Clearance work for the structure began in the late 80s, with building work taking place around the old structure (Brigham 1990; Milne 1992: 16). The Huggin Hill baths were significantly extended around AD 120, as was the amphitheatre (though this was still rebuilt largely in wood).

In each case all these buildings appear in isolation. There are no cross-references to each other in terms of their specific alignment or siting. Neither do they cluster, nor are they regimented as is the case with the central buildings in a fort. The kind of spatial distribution is reminiscent of the sort of pattern that we saw as the outcome of individual benefaction at Pompeii, with development taking place where land-availability permitted. In the process this created a townscape that had baths, the forum and other principal buildings spaced out, enabling the benefactors to be highly visible as they moved from one to another.

The only ‘public’ building which may be cross-referenced to any other is the still ill-understood temple complex to the west of the Huggin Hill baths; indeed these baths may have formed part of the sanctuary. On land consolidated by the waterfront, a large platform was created; its remains suggest a base for a temple podium, aligned looking towards the entrance to the town’s forum (Williams 1993). The complex is poorly understood, but the most evocative finds come from reused masonry recovered from the later riverside wall. Here two altars were discovered recording the construction of two temples to Jupiter and Isis, along with a relief depicting four mother goddesses, a screen portraying gods with carved figures on both sides, and the remains of a massive monumental arch (Hill *et al.* 1980: 124–93). The dating of the sculpture possibly spread over the second and third centuries. To the north a series of massive walls along Knightbridge Street may indicate the extent of the *temenos* boundary, and we may have here structures on the scale of the sanctuary of Sulis Minerva at Bath.

By this stage, where did the rich and wealthy of the city live? Do we have any evidence for zoning, as in a legionary fortress, or do we find, as our Pompeian case study would suggest, that expensive housing is spread across the

townscape. One well-furnished building was excavated east of the so-called 'Governor's palace', by Suffolk Lane, perhaps dating to the second century. However, the two most palatial establishments are over the river in Southwark. One was discovered during the excavations at Winchester Palace. Here a large apsidal-ended stone building was lavishly refurbished in the second century (Yule 1989: 33). In its later phase an inscription was set up within it listing the names of a number of soldiers on detachment. Hassall (1996: 23) has wondered if it might not in its later phases have been a *schola* for the Governor's *beneficarii*. Alas, the reason for the dedication is not known, as that part of the inscription did not survive. An alternative is that this structure might have been the Governor's London residence. A second large stone building with fine mosaics has been found at 15–23 Southwark Street, constructed on the remains of an earlier masonry building dating to the AD 60s (Beard and Cowan 1988: 376). Without traces of an inscription, it will be well-nigh impossible to decide where the Governor, Procurator and other officials lived, if they even had official residences. None the less, the framework existed within which such individuals could have operated in a manner which they would have found familiar; receiving clients at *salutatio* in their home in the morning, processing to the increasingly monumentalised forum, and then perhaps moving on to the bath and temple complex in the southwest quarter of the city, visually integrated with the forum. If our Governor had resided in Southwark, the procession over the Thames bridge would have been visible to much of the town as he crossed with his *lictors* and clients following. Indeed the symbolism of repeatedly crossing, thereby conquering and/or paying respect to the main river god of southeast Britain, may have been irresistible. A second river crossing was that of the smaller Wallbrook dividing the eastern and western hills of London, north of the Thames, and here other votive depositions have been found (Marsh and West 1981).

The re-creation of patterns of life for the cosmopolitan population of London may have gone further than benefaction and processions to display status. There is also evidence that London was divided up into districts, each with local shrines to provide a communal focus, as in many Mediterranean cities (cf. Pompeii: Laurence 1994: 41). A small white marble plinth was discovered on which we hear that in a collective action the *vici* restored at its own expense a shrine to the Mother Goddess (RIB 2). So even the administrative/social divisions present in Italian towns percolated across to Britain to be re-created amongst the inhabitants of London.

What we have in London is the creation of a community by informed individuals making decisions on the basis of their own life experiences. The gradual construction, with a burst in the Flavian period and refurbishment taking place well into the second century, may have been at the hands of wealthy people or corporate groups (guilds, the Provincial Council or whoever); we will never know exactly who without epigraphy. However, no grand

design need ever have existed. There has been a temptation to view London in terms of a zoned city, with a military zone dominated by the Cripplegate fort in the west, the *conventus civium Romanorum* focused around the forum, and a non-citizen settlement excluded on the south bank (Millett 1996); or to see London as having a specific industrial zone (Maloney 1990: 120; *contra* Millett 1994: 429) but there is no need for this. In perceiving London as an organic creation the townscape would have been comprehensible for a Roman citizen from Latium or Campania. This would be a city they could relate to and understand.

Conclusion

Roman London offers the closest parallel in Britain to our Pompeian caricature of a town, in terms of its architectural repertoire, but also in terms of how that scenery was used, and how individuals potentially acted within it. The scope for processions between the public buildings, the division of the city into districts, seem to be a replication of modes of being which would have been inculcated into many of the immigrant and transient population since childhood. However, London was still no Pompeii or Ostia: the low density of shops and the lack of epigraphy marked it out as being different or 'provincial', though in terms of size it was much larger than many Italian towns.

It is impossible to know without inscriptions exactly who paid for the major monumental buildings in London; but to a certain extent this specific knowledge is not important. What is crucial is that the mindset within which these buildings were conceived and erected was that of individuals who understood how *their* concept of a classical city worked: the physical spaces within which social and commercial transactions took place; the methods by which social positions were displayed and constantly reaffirmed; the way the town was organised into its districts. This organic growth could not have taken place without individuals who had been thoroughly inculcated in these practices, who through years of residence and living in classical cities ended up re-creating a similar setting around themselves on the banks of the Thames. Each person, from the freedman engaged in trade for his former master to a member of the Governor's entourage, found himself re-establishing patterns of behaviour with which he was familiar, which came naturally to him. Yet in Britain, London is the exception. The building blocks used to create the scenery in the other towns of Roman Britain may have been similar (fora, baths, etc.), but the end results were quite different.

THE CREATION OF ORDER

Finding myself working in Cyprus briefly, I thought I would track down a former teacher of mine who had retired out there to soak up the Mediterranean sunshine. I managed to find an address for him in a relatively new village development. Here were ranks of bungalows with manicured lawns and English gardens forming the image of an archetypal expatriate community. I only had vague directions so I enquired of a gentleman tending to his roses. His manner and the way he held himself instantly told me that he had been in the army, and yes, he had been garrisoned on the island and had returned there when demobbed. Unfortunately he had not been there long, but helpfully he thought that ‘the colonel’ would know where the person I sought lived. And so I entered a world where I realised everyone was ranked by their former service status. Even civilians were cast into this order – my teacher, it appeared, had reinvented himself as the former headmaster of a minor public school; presumably this gave him entry into this hierarchy at a higher level than his real past as a teacher in a London comprehensive. I did not shatter this illusion or misunderstanding. But I found this all curious: status had nothing to do with wealth or individual personal qualities (the person in this case was one of the best teachers I have ever had); rather it was a given, based on rank. It was not up for negotiation. It all made me wonder about the life of veterans in Roman Britain and their contribution to the urban environment.

As we move out of London to the other cities of Britain, we lose the ability to transfer by analogy information about the Procurator’s office and the Governor’s staff to colour our picture; our interpretation now has to be framed even more by the archaeology. While London may have been an organic development, there was a rather different genus for another group of settlements. Many had very contrasting origins, crystallising out of the shells of former legionary fortresses. These are not just the early *coloniae* of Roman Britain. Although Colchester (Colonia Claudia Victricensis Camulodunsum), Gloucester (Colonia Nervia Glevensium) and Lincoln (Colonia Domitiana Lindensium) do fit this model, it also includes sites such as Wroxeter (Viroconium Cornoviorum) and Exeter (Isca Dumnoniorum), which by our normal classification would be considered separately as ‘*civitas* capitals’.

The military veterans at the colonies have often been singled out as worth studying because of their perceived part in civilising the province (Richmond 1946; Wachter 1995). Frequently these towns were taken to represent role models for the population of Britain:

The *coloniae* could . . . be used as an instrument of Imperial policy, to foster loyalty or to reinforce and propagate Roman culture . . . these chartered towns form the specific contribution to the civilization or organization of provinces by the Roman government. Otherwise, the initiative in acquiring Roman culture was expected to come from within the province itself, from native communities or from unofficial Roman groups.

(Richmond 1946: 57)

This idea was founded upon Tacitus' description of the foundation of the first colony at Colchester:

In order to facilitate the displacement of troops westwards to man it, a strong settlement of ex-soldiers was established on conquered land at Camulodunum. Its mission was to protect the country against revolt and familiarize the provincials with law-abiding government.

(Tac. *Ann.* 12.32)

Taken literally, Tacitus' meaning is explicit enough. However, Tacitus is also well known for his use of irony. If this second sentence was a 'mission statement' for the town then it singularly failed. It did not 'protect the country against revolt' – as the Boudican débâcle was to show. As for law-abiding government, Tacitus goes on to say:

The settlers drove the Trinobantes from their homes and land, and called them prisoners and slaves. The troops encouraged the settlers' outrages, since their own way of behaving was the same – and they looked forward to similar licence for themselves.

(Tac. *Ann.* 14.32)

Glorified notions of veteran *coloniae* being examples of civilisation should probably be discarded in favour of the rather inglorious idea that these places were basically cheap convenient dumping grounds for unwanted veterans by the state, or at least that is how these settlements began their existence.

What I wish to suggest in this chapter is that these towns may have had many of the architectural building blocks common elsewhere, but that their configuration and use were rather different. I would propose that to judge by our Pompeian image of a town, these settlements could be perceived as severely dysfunctional, failing to permit life to be lived as a member of the

Roman aristocracy would comprehend. However, examined in their own terms, these settlements are simply a different model of *romanitas* envisaged and created by a community with rather different life experiences.

Colchester (Colonia Victricensis)

Foundation and population of Colchester

The colony at Colchester was founded around AD 49 when Legio XX moved westwards from Camulodunum to the Severn valley, first at Kingsholme, then at Gloucester. The city, named Colonia Victricensis, or ‘colony of the victorious’, was explicitly described as a veteran settlement, so who exactly were its first residents? The retiring legionaries would have been recruited in the mid AD 20s. At that time recruitment patterns suggest half might have come from Italy, and increasing numbers from the provinces. At this date that would mean principally Spain and Gallia Narbonensis, though II Augusta, XIII Gemina and XX had been transferred from Germany and VIII Hispana from Pannonia, so there may have been some provincials from there as well. The city’s population may have had a number of distinctive peculiarities. In drawing its populace mainly from the army (though additional slaves, settlers and some *incolae* will have been present), there would have been a curious kind of in-built natural selection. If Vegetius’ fourth-century account of the army is to be believed, legionary recruits had to be six Roman feet tall, have a clear eye, carry their head high and have a broad chest. Once enrolled, they would have been on active campaign for just under a decade in Britain, with sporadic action before that. The auxiliaries would have come from an even wider geographic range, but had a comparable physique and career. Those who had lived must have survived due to a combination of brawn, brains and good fortune. So, I wonder how distinctive a community developed in Colchester in comparison to the wider range of body types that probably existed in the population at large. Alas, with cremation being the dominant rite upon death, compiling metrical statistics from the fragmented bone to examine such changes would be particularly taxing. The veterans may have had widely mixed origins, but it was their military experience and many years of service that gave them coherence (Millett 1999: 195). Indeed the collective sense of identity within the army as a living community has been a recent focus of much new research (e.g. Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999; James 2001).

In life, the veterans had many ways to remind individuals of their status. Whereas in a Pompeian house a member of the oligarchy might have a family tree or imported Hellenistic sculpture to impress, retired soldiers would have had symbols such as battle honours to display. These were awards that linked both to rank and to individual acts of valour. Officers could be presented with crowns (*coronae*) for activities from saving a citizen’s life to breaking a siege; lances and cavalry standards could also be awarded. Exceptionally they

could be granted to the lower ranks, but these were more often given medals (*phalerae*), collars and armlets.

In death the heirs could commemorate their deceased with tombstones. Unlike many towns in Britain, there is a reasonable but still not enormous collection of inscriptions from Colchester. Most famously these include the sculptured tombstones of soldiers such as that of Marcus Favonius Flacilis, centurion of Legio XX (RIB 200) and Longinus, son of Sdapezematygus, *duplicarius* from the First Cavalry Regiment of Thracians (RIB 201). Indeed all the tombstones which survive recording occupations represent men with military backgrounds. There is only one exception: 'in this mound lie buried the bones of a young man, much regretted'. The inscription ends there, suggestive of a tale of some local tragedy (RIB 204). Some of these could date to the period of the fortress, particularly Flacilis of Legio XX, but they may equally date to the time of the colony.

If we turn to inscriptions found within the town (dedications to gods in fulfilment of vows, in the main), these were erected by a totally different set of people. There is a dedication by the grandson of a Caledonian (RIB 191), and ones to a tribesman of the Cantii (RIB 192), a freedman (RIB 193) and a coppersmith (RIB 194). If epigraphy is one of the ways in which people compete and proclaim their status in a world of social mobility, then the veterans are not engaged in this activity in Colchester. The only elements of the population using inscriptions in a discourse while alive are the non-military members of the population, however permanent or transient their residence may have been. It seems that the soldiers/veterans commemorated and proclaimed their rank in death, while the rest of the population competed for their status in life. It was this that reminded me of my former teacher – military rank was fixed upon retirement, but that of civilians had to be competed for and established (Woolf 1998: 101). Unfortunately, this data set has the problem of its being difficult to distinguish chronologically between the set of inscriptions dating to the fortress and that to the colony.

So how did the conversion of a legionary base into a town come about? It was not through the construction of sumptuous new housing, but simply through the reuse of earlier timber barracks. This image was not what many expected, having believed in Tacitus' quip of the colony being a model to help civilise the province:

the discovery at Colchester and Gloucester that far from being settled in a pleasant new urban development, these old soldiers were crammed into re-used barracks left over from the days of military occupation comes as something of a shock: no site elsewhere in Europe or the other provinces of the Roman Empire had prepared us for this situation.

(Frere's preface to Crummy 1975)

The colony was not just built *on* the site of the fortress, but built *out* of the decommissioned fortress. The defences may have been fatefully levelled (Tac. *Ann.* 14.32), but of the 18 or so excavated buildings that were destroyed 11 or 12 years later in the Boudican revolt, two-thirds of them were reused military structures (Crummy 1999; 2003: 42). This survival was mainly in the western half of the fortress, with many of the tribunes' houses and barracks to the east being demolished; after all the class of individuals who had lived in the tribunes' houses would have long since moved on with their legion or returned to Italy.

At the heart of the fortress had been the *aedes signorum*, the shrine containing the legionary standards or insignia, next to the portrait of the Emperor. This was situated in the *principia* (Le Bohec 1994: 246). At some point this building was demolished, as the *via decumana* and *via praetoria* were linked up to create the main east–west road through the town. However, a new massive temple replaced this ritual focus, constructed on fresh ground in the old military annexe, dedicated not to the insignia of the different legions making up the colonists, but to the now-deified founder of the colony, Claudius.

The annexe did not just contain the temple, though. It was divided into four *insulae*. One saw the construction of a theatre. This was aligned on the same axis as the roads in the fortress, rather than the new colonial roads in the annexe, suggesting that it, like the temple, was early, and certainly pre-dated AD 60/1 (Crummy 1988: 43). The two blocks south of the temple and theatre also contained what are thought to be major public buildings, though excavation has only provided tantalising glimpses so far. Whatever, they were large enough structures to command the use of 0.90m diameter columns. It is possible that these form part of the town forum, but some have suggested that this lies within the space where the original *principia* lay, though this area has not been excavated. So far all the major public buildings known in the town appear to have been constructed or planned as a group in the annexe, perhaps because the annexe belonged to the *res publica* and was conveniently clear of extant buildings. This public construction work was rapid and much occurred in a short burst before the Boudican revolt put the torch to the city. When the city was rebuilt, this time with strong defences protecting it, the wall contained the reused bricks from earlier constructions destroyed in the conflagration (Crummy 2003: 52).

The Temple of the Divine Claudius at Colchester has often been assumed to be the centre of the Imperial cult to *Roma et Augustus*, with a provincial altar along the lines of that at Lugdunum. Nominally this should be on the property of the Provincial Council rather than on land owned by a colony that was technically outside provincial jurisdiction (for the arguments see Mann 1998; for examples of the contrary assumptions see Hassall 1996: 19; Esmonde Cleary 1998a: 40). As discussed above (p. 101) this interpretation is unnecessary, but it is thoroughly enshrined in the archaeological literature as a fact, forgetting that no ancient author or epigraphy states that it is the case. A

consequence of imagining the temple to be the centre of the provincial cult is the idea that, on analogy with Taragona, there could be a second forum in the town. While one contained the temple and provincial cult (based on the Temple of Claudius), the second would serve the functions of the local community. This has been imagined as lying in the western half of the town where the *principia* originally would have been. I tend to agree with Crummy, the principal excavator of Colchester, that whereas the military *principia* may have served briefly as the town's forum basilica, there is actually no evidence for its survival after AD 50, and the central building plot was carved up by the construction of the main east–west road (Crummy 1999: 89). If a second forum was constructed there at a later date, we as yet do not have the evidence for it and only future fieldwork will determine the actual answer.

A temple to the Divine Claudius, the founder of the colony and the Emperor under whom many of the veterans would have won battle honours, would have been an appropriate enough focus of veneration. About half of all military festivals appear to have related to commemoration of the Imperial family, so this was a continuance of this practice (Fink *et al.* 1940). However, from what we know of the military, the Imperial cult was always far more enthusiastically embraced by the auxiliaries and the Praetorian Guard than by the legions. Legionaries normally restricted themselves to praying to Jupiter Conservator for the safety of the Emperor, and renewing their oaths to him on his birthday (Plin. *Letters* 10.52 and 102; Le Bohec 1994: 248). So unless veteran auxiliaries rather than legionaries dominated the colony, the choice of temple to the Imperial cult would have been slightly at odds with the developed practices of the 'retired' component of its inhabitants.

From the construction of these early public buildings, despite the devastation of the Boudican revolt, the town continued to grow and establish itself. The resulting plan has had a strong influence over how people have imagined the towns of Roman Britain. In his book on the development of urbanism in Britain, Ottaway described them in the following way:

The principal streets were laid out on a rectilinear grid pattern which divided the urban area into what were known as *insulae* (islands). The central *insulae* were occupied by the public buildings which included the forum, essentially a large courtyard, often used as a market, which was enclosed on three sides by shops or offices behind a colonnaded portico and on the fourth by the basilica, a hall in which administrative and judicial business was conducted. In adjacent *insulae* there would usually be a public bath-house, temple to the Roman gods, and, on occasions, a theatre.

(Ottaway 1992: 46–7)

The description is by no means controversial and is a fairly standard image or caricature of what towns in Britain were like; as we can see, it describes

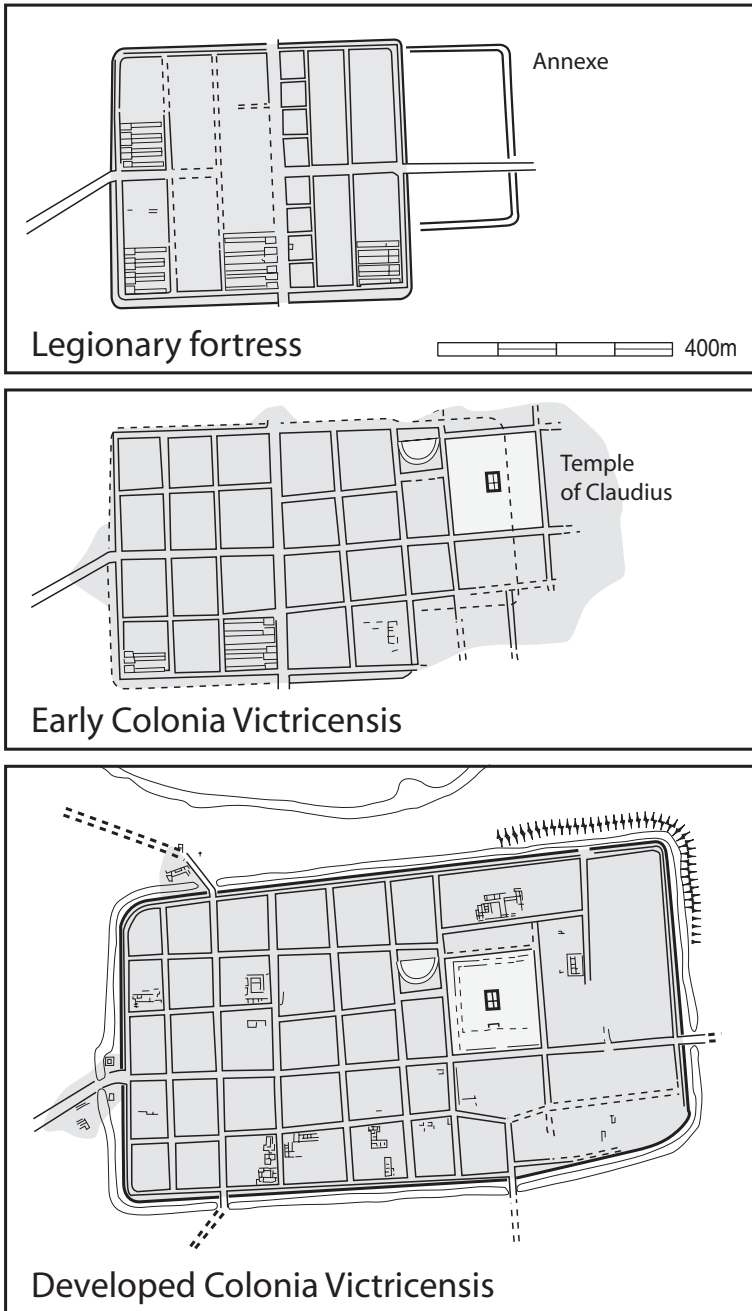


Figure 6.1 The development of Colchester (after Crummy 1997)

Colchester well. However, two points should be considered. First, this juxtaposition of public buildings is absolutely *not* what we encountered in London, where these monuments were scattered opportunistically across the townscape. This separation provided for life to be lived in a comparable way to that of any other city of the cosmopolitan Empire where the elite competed for prestige and authority. In Verulamium and Calleva, as we will see, the main public buildings are also spread out, enabling procession between them that could be viewed, to help continually enact and at the same time re-create the community's social hierarchy. Having everything close together would have been anathema to the modes of being as represented in the Pompeian model. Scope for processions throughout the populace is severely restricted. What we have here are the monumental building blocks of an organically created classical town, but slotted together in a very different way. Secondly, at Colchester, the public buildings were constructed in peripheral locations in the annexe, and it is only in retrospect that these became the 'central *insulae*' of the town as its eastern half developed in the later first and second centuries.

Colchester with its clustering of buildings is not an isolated example. A group of towns exist which have many of their public buildings extremely close together. The majority of them have in common the fact that they were originally military bases and were constructed on the site of fortresses. Some like Colchester and Gloucester became veteran colonies; others like Wroxeter and Exeter did not. If the design and function of Roman towns derived from the minds and practices of their founders and occupants, then that is where we need to look to understand the different layout of these sites.

When we study Colchester, unlike London, there does appear to be a grand plan here. The annexe was designated the locale for public building. Here we can imagine the hand of a town planner rather than individual action. In the camp, the *praefectus castrorum* had been the top rank-and-file soldier who had been responsible for supervising engineering, construction and industrial projects, and it is easy to envisage such individuals taking responsibility and authority here too. Indeed Tacitus explained that the reason why the town did not have walls to protect itself against Boudica was because 'the military commanders had been thinking about amenities instead of needs' (Tac. *Ann.* 14.31). Colonia Victricensis was *not* an organic development, but a re-creation of order along lines that the life experiences of the veterans found natural. The dominance of this group led to the formation of a town where everyday living was rather different from the creation at London, or that which we will see develop later at 'native sites' like Verulamium. Perhaps as time passed and the population shifted, with intermarriage and the movement of people, the way of practising life altered; but by then the overall structure of the town within which that happened was fixed.

Wroxeter (Viroconium Cornoviorum)

The legionary base at Wroxeter did not become a colony, but in many ways the development of the town very closely parallels that of Colchester. In the mid first century a fortress was created in the upper Severn valley, from which to control the Welsh Marches and lead campaigns into the as yet untamed mountains. Our understanding of what happened there has to come from the archaeology, as alas no historical references to the fortress or town exist. Hassall's recent survey concluded that Legio XIII Gemina resided here (c.AD 55–69), later replaced by Legio XX Valeria Victrix (c.AD 75–84). However, in the 80s troop redeployments within the Empire saw the transfer of a legion out of Britain. A consequence was that this fortress became redundant (Hassall 2000). The location, however, reemerged as Viroconium, one of two *poleis* of the Cornovii, the other being Chester. Webster, writing up the excavated evidence from the fortress, envisaged it similarly, but had a slightly later start and finish date to the occupation (Legio XIII: AD 57–65, Legio XX: AD 66–88; Webster 2002: 80–3). In its final stages, Webster saw the fortress being 'wound down', turned into a military depot, and even part of the defensive circuit being demolished, which seems very odd, though he wondered if it was not so that the timber could be reused elsewhere in another military project, perhaps up north (Webster 2002: 83).

The transition from fortress to civilian town is ill understood. At Colchester it appeared half the camp buildings had been demolished in the part facing the annexe, while others remained standing to form residences in the early *colonia*. At Wroxeter our picture is less clear. In the 80s the barrack buildings that have been excavated, again on the annexe side of the fortress, were also demolished; but other structures in the area remained (Webster 2002: 39).

As at Colchester, the first monumental building works to begin took place in the annexe. Here we see the construction of a bath-house, attached to which was a rectangular exercise yard. Unfortunately, our chronology from Atkinson's excavations in the 1920s is not precise enough to know if this was built in the final phases of the fortress or the first of the town. However, since there is slight evidence for another bath-house just to the south of the fortress *principia*, a 'civilian' date may be more likely (Webster 2002: 7); on the other hand Ellis considers that its military-style design means it should be associated with the fortress (Ellis 2000: 337). Little is uncontested, even to the extent of wondering if the *palaestra* associated with the building might actually only relate to the later forum on the site. Whatever, the project was a massive one, and there are some suggestions that the bath-house may never have actually been completed.

In the early second century the first bath-house was demolished and the site converted to that of the new forum for the town, dedicated in Hadrian's reign (RIB 288; Atkinson 1942). At about the same time a new baths complex was constructed on the other side of the street, just inside the old

fortress boundary, though it took longer to complete. The new baths were of an unusual design, linking the bath-house with a basilica structure. Such a relationship is rare in British towns, but not unparalleled. Zienkiewicz noted that the earliest combinations of the two came from legionary contexts at Chester and Caerleon, indicating that the influence of military ideas was still strong (Zienkiewicz 1986: 162; Barker *et al.* 1997: 221). The Chester and Wroxeter bath-houses had similar Corinthian capitals suggesting stylistic links went beyond the use of space.

The baths and forum were now immediately adjacent to each other, making it possible to walk virtually straight out of one and into the other, leaving no scope for observable procession. Incorporated into this block as well was a small *macellum* (Ellis 2000). However, the linkage of these to other monuments in the town is difficult as our knowledge about them is scarce. A small classical temple is known to the south of the forum, but it is suspected that a larger temple may have existed immediately to the north. Here a series of lavish square-cut column bases were discovered during the construction of farm-buildings in the mid-nineteenth century, and a Jupiter Column may have been found at the same time (White and Barker 1998: 94). Unfortunately, the agricultural buildings on the site have prevented any subsequent investigation, but extensive geophysical surveying within the rest of the town has not revealed any other traces of major classical temples (Wroxeter Hinterland Project: White and Gaffney 2003). Nor are there obvious indications of an amphitheatre in the town. However, in the *insula* block immediately south of the forum is an enigmatic rectangular enclosure with rounded corners, with double walls reminiscent of the construction seen in theatres and arenas where they supported timber seating (White and Barker 1998: 95).

In terms of agency, the development of the town has often been imagined within the context of the visit of the Emperor Hadrian to the province. There is no explicit evidence that Hadrian ever visited the settlement, but none the less the forum was dedicated to him by the *Civitas Cornoviorum* (RIB 288):

The extension of the city to the west and north required a transfer of the civic centre, presumably from the central area of the fortress to a new location on the western side of the early city. This gave Hadrian an opportunity to plan a monumental scheme in the large *insula*, the total area of which is 2.93ha, one of the largest civic planning projects in Britain . . .

Hadrian more than doubled the size, and presumably also the number of inhabitants by settling veterans and attracting artisans, craftsmen and traders to this much increased market potential.

(Webster 1988a: 142–3)

[The] military occupation was followed by an early civil phase, covering the years between about AD 90–120, which remain poorly

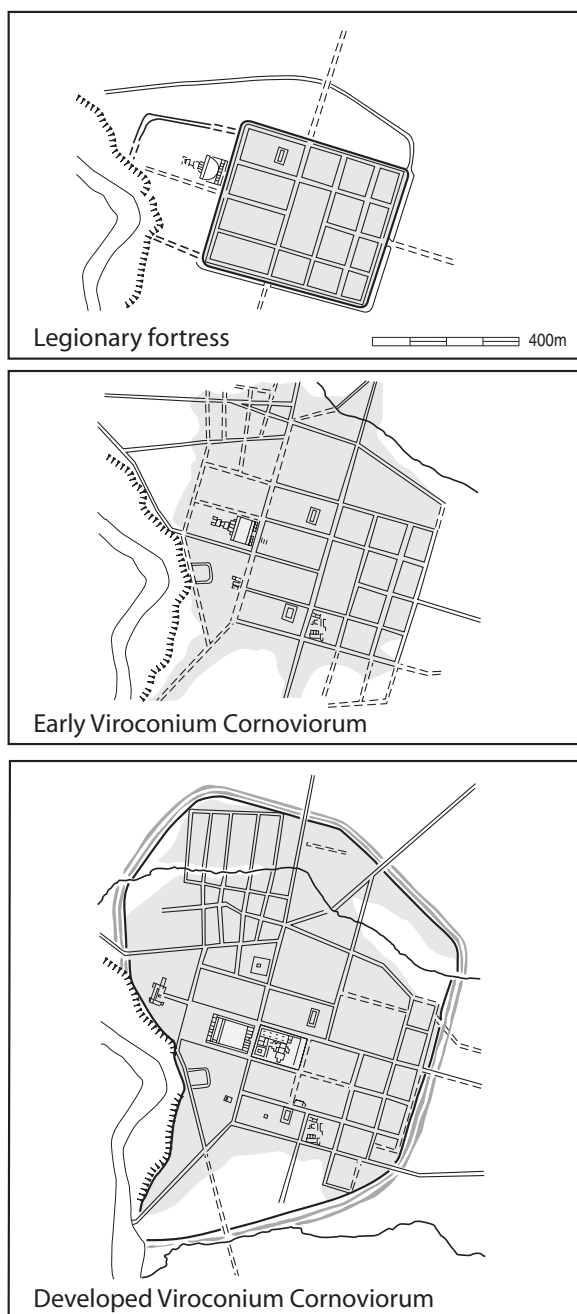


Figure 6.2 The development of Wroxeter (after White and Barker 1998)

understood. The baths excavations also appear to show that in about AD 120, possibly coinciding with Hadrian's visit to Britain in AD 121–2 (*SHA Vit Had* 11.2), the foundations of a public baths building were laid in *insula* 5.

(Barker *et al.* 1997: 221)

This personal intervention of the Emperor seems unnecessary; indeed the forum inscription is normally put up at the completion of the building, so construction of this large project could easily have started during Trajan's reign. The development of the town appears to be similar to the growth of Colchester, with public buildings developing in the annexes, in an area which is at first peripheral to the fortress/town, but which through time and after the construction of the town walls comes to appear central to the settlement.

The nature of the epigraphic evidence is also similar to Colchester. While there are a variety of fragmentary dedications, all the tombstones commemorate soldiers with the exception of one that jointly honours a wife after thirty years of marriage and a brother who died young (RIB 295). As with Colchester, many of the military tombstones may date to the residence of Legiones XIII and XX in the fortress, before the town was established. However, some could be later veterans: a fifty-seven-year-old from a cohort of Thracians; a legionary from Legio XX who had served for thirty-one years and died aged fifty-two; and another forty-five-year-old with twenty-two years' service to his name from Legio XIII. These do suggest that there were military veterans settled here, even though as far as we know the city was not officially designated as a colony.

The pattern at Viroconium is of the monumental buildings being tightly packed together, at first in the area immediately outside the fort entrance, and then expanding into the *insula* blocks immediately to the north, south and east. Within this arrangement there was no scope for processional display of the type envisaged in classical cities. In this it is very similar to the veteran colonies where the individual building blocks of 'urban living' were replicated, but the layout shows more centralised design than organic growth. Despite its long chronological evolution it displays the hand of centralised control more than sporadic development. As the Wroxeter Hinterland work gets published in full it will be interesting to note how the distribution of plush private housing correlates with the principal public buildings (Gaffney *et al.* forthcoming).

Other towns

The foundation of Gloucester (Colonia Nervia Glevensium) is often ascribed to the brief reign of Nerva (AD 96–8), with good reason, since it is named after him. However, the previous Emperor was Domitian (AD 81–96), and

since his name was expunged from memory after his assassination it is equally likely it was founded some time then. This is a genuine possibility since one scenario is that Legio XX deserted the fortress to move up to a new site at Wroxeter around AD 75 (cf. Hassall and Hurst 1999; Hassall 2000: 62). As at Colchester, the archaeological evidence seems to suggest that quite a few military buildings remained upstanding, so a long period of desertion is unlikely. These structures were converted to secondary uses in the early stages of the colony, and were slowly supplemented by new monumental edifices and facilities. The Berkeley Street excavations revealed some barrack blocks, which had been rebuilt as part-stone structures in a similarly regimented formation. This had taken place not earlier than AD 86/7 (Hurst 1999b: 114). The architecture and dating is therefore ambiguous. Are they just replacement barrack blocks, or are they colonial buildings being constructed for the veteran settlers? The fine distinction between the interpretation of archaeology as military or civilian is again highlighted here. Over the next few generations, gradually these blocks were replaced with new buildings, breaking up the regimented pattern.

Our knowledge of the layout of Gloucester is far sketchier than for any of the towns discussed so far. The site of the forum is known, built directly on top of the *principia*, facing northeast. Constructed in the later first century, it was probably restructured in the second. Within it were found the remains of part of a bronze equestrian statue, most likely that of an emperor (Hurst 1988: 65). Upon leaving the forum and turning left there is a massive colonnade, which may have been part of a temple precinct or *palaestra*. This is called the 'Westgate colonnade', which comprised a series of 1m-diameter columns that extends over a length of 100 metres. Its identification as a precinct has not been completely established, and other suggestions are that it is just a roadside colonnade, though it is set a little way back from the road for this; or that it is the nave of a basilica, though it would be the largest one north of the Alps (Hurst 1988: 65; 1999c: 155–7). So far, both forum and 'monument' (whatever it is) are right next to each other; though unlike Colchester or Wroxeter, they are in the middle of the old fortress rather than in an annexe. If the fortress had contained a military bath-house which had been reused, then this also may have lain in the centre, creating a dense cluster of public buildings, again following the pattern established at Colchester and Wroxeter – but such anathema to the London and Pompeian sense of urban living.

At Exeter (Isca Dumnoniorum) the legionary fortress was built in the mid-50s AD. At first Legio II Augusta garrisoned the site. Opinions vary as to where they went next (Hassall 2000), but the garrison was reduced until the site was finally abandoned around AD 80/85. Subsequently development was fairly rapid. Right in the middle of the fortress, covering an area where the *principia*, *praetorium* and legionary baths had once stood, a new forum-basilica was constructed. Traces of a temporary wooden basilica have been found

next to the new stone building. A new baths complex was also constructed in the adjacent *insula* to the southeast. The entrances to both buildings opened out onto a central gravelled piazza. The date of the bath-house is unclear, but the construction of the aqueduct to the town in AD 100/1, dated by dendrochronology, could have been part of the same design (Henderson 1988).

The evidence from Exeter tells us nothing about the location of temples and theatres; however, from what we have, the juxtaposition of the baths and forum entrances again implies that the link between the two was clear and deliberate. However, the closeness of the structures and their centrality tend to suggest the military ordered ethic was being replicated rather than our organic unfolding civilian idea. It is interesting to note that the public buildings both here and at Gloucester appear to have been being constructed on the sites of the former central fortress structures. It is as if the barrack blocks had been left standing (as at Colchester) and were then given away as plots to the new residents, whether veterans or natives. If so, the development of the townscape seems to be re-creating and reestablishing the ways of life and being which former military inhabitants would have understood. They may not have been 'Italian urban ideals' but the residents probably had no way of realising this and in an unproblematic way may have imagined them as such.

Conclusion

These cities, built within the remains of fortresses, with their ordered layout and clustered public buildings, provide a strong contrast with the dispersed arrangement we saw in London or Pompeii. But then the population was very different. Instead of drawing upon a cosmopolitan mixture of people which included influential movers and shakers directly familiar with life in the cities of the Roman heartland, the colonies contained a range of veterans with completely different life experiences, dominated by the practical knowledge of living in the Roman military camps where life was structured along different lines. We may wonder at the proportion of veterans who chose to settle at Wroxeter and Exeter, towns not far from where they may have been garrisoned, places with which they were familiar. At Colchester and Wroxeter the clustered public buildings were constructed in the annexes, whereas at Gloucester and Exeter they were built in the heart of the old fortress, providing direct continuity with the structuring principles of the camp. In all these cases the inhabitants were formulating what for them was their urban ideal, their version of *humanitas*.

To understand how people create the world around them we need to gain a feeling for their background and origins, to attempt to work out how they saw the world and continually reproduced it around themselves. At these sites we have people building a 'Roman nucleated community' just as in London,

yet the end result is somewhat different. This is the problem (or delight) with people. Everyone is trying to achieve the same perceived aim, but their actions are bounded by their knowledge. Groups that come from very different backgrounds will have had contrasting ideals, social competences and notions or experience of what urban living might be. Here, communities derived from the army, or many years in contact with an army of occupation, responded by constructing towns that had similarities with the order of Roman military life. However, what happened in the other towns of south-east Britain where the army did not linger, and where towns were not created out of the shells of former fortresses? What happened where the *oppida* of Late Iron Age Britain were allowed to continue to develop into 'British' versions of Roman towns, less influenced by people with a knowledge of the Roman army or by large numbers of bureaucrats on secondment and traders from afar?

THE MEMORY OF KINGS

When I first visited Paris I took the metro and emerged above the surface of the sixteenth *arrondissement* into a spider's web of radiating avenues. I was disorientated and found navigation in this landscape, which was unfamiliar to me, curiously confusing. Haussmann's nineteenth-century avenues were very different from the medieval warrens I was more familiar with in old English towns. I took a wrong turn, found myself facing the Arc de Triomphe and wondered at this familiar icon of Paris. Three memories were evoked as I explored the monument. First, I was drawn to the flame by the grave of the Unknown Soldier from the First World War, similar to tombs I had seen elsewhere, in Moscow and London. I briefly wondered why we did not have such a flame on the British memorial. Our unknown warrior lies cold near the draughty entrance of Westminster Abbey. I thought of the ghastliness of the war in the trenches. This evoked my second memory, also relating to a time before I was born. I remembered film footage of the German occupation of Paris in 1940, with the line of troops of the Third Reich processing in victory down the Champs Élysées. When I climbed into the Arc I discovered there was a small museum with drawings and photographs of the monument throughout its history, including some of the alternative designs that thankfully were not constructed. Every stage in the arch's life was represented – but not that image. I wondered how deliberately memory was being exorcised here. My third instinctive association as I surveyed Paris from its top was to wonder which of the surrounding buildings had been used by the Jackal, when he tried to assassinate Charles de Gaulle during the Algerian crisis. It took me a fraction of a second to recall that this had never happened, that this was fiction; indeed it had not even taken place here in the book or the film, and my memory was playing tricks on me (Forsyth 1971). Had any of these evocations been anticipated by the monument's creator? Were these responses the ones of other visitors to the Arc? None of my thoughts related to the original reason for building the monument, which was to celebrate Napoleon's victories, though by the time it was completed in 1836 that reason was slightly anachronistic from a British perspective. My conception was framed by my own experience and by making a hundred and

one conscious and unconscious comparisons to cityscapes I knew, to try and make personal sense of the place I was now in. Monuments and memory framed this cityscape; and to a degree that I had never realised before, they were fundamental to the development of many of the Roman towns of southeast Britain.

Once upon a time, military origins dominated discussion of the foundation of the remaining major towns in southeast Britain. Forts were imagined or searched for which could provide a notional stimulus to the creation of these towns, but now emphasis has shifted to stressing their development out of the Iron Age *oppida* discovered underneath many of them. These were the political foci of the friendly kingdoms of the Late Iron Age. Four (St Albans, Gosbecks, Silchester and Canterbury) were all within the domains of the Eastern and Southern Kingdoms at the time of the Claudian conquest; and two more (Caistor St Edmund and Cirencester) were certainly under the influence of their rulers.

One theme that we will see all of these settlements display in their development is the commemoration and veneration of their status as sites once ruled by kings. Each evolving townscape enshrined and reinforced the memory of these kings or other leading individuals in the monuments that were constructed. In so doing, they reinforced the social position of the successor generations that survived them after the formation of the province of Britannia.

St Albans (Verulamium)

Historically, Verulamium first enters the written record with the coinage of Tasciovanus, patriarch of the Eastern Dynasty. Many of his issues had 'VER' inscribed upon them, with one or two having longer abbreviations. Chronologically he is broadly dated to the later first century BC–early first century AD. His successor, Cunobelin, did not follow suit. Much of his gold had CAMV inscribed on it, standing for Camulodunum, but some of the issues without a mintmark have a distribution focused upon Verulamium and most people are happy to imagine that it continued to be a political focal point in this period. The site first enters the annals of Rome in AD 60/1, when the city became a target for the disaffected populace led by Boudica. Tacitus tells us that the town was at this point a *municipium*. Its next historical mention came with the execution in the town of the first Christian martyr in Britain, St Alban. On the hill overlooking the Roman city, where his grave was thought to be located, a cult centre emerged, providing a focus for the growth of the later medieval city – a development which we shall see has echoes in the first and second centuries.

Archaeologically, the city of Verulamium began some time in the late first century BC as a series of sub-rectangular enclosures on the plateau edge overlooking a marshy area of the river Ver. Prae Wood (Wheeler and Wheeler

1936) and Gorhambury (Neal *et al.* 1990) are the most intensively investigated of these. The remains of another were found at Folly Lane, on the opposite side of the river (Niblett 1999: 405–7). These enclosures surrounded the valley bottom, which was marked out as separate by a series of dykes. In the centre of this space another enclosure was found under the site of the later forum, in association with fragments of coin pellet moulds and metal-working debris. This was the St Michael's enclosure, interpolated from two excavated sections of ditch (Frere 1983: 193). Interpretation has usually seen this low-lying area as serving some form of ritual and administrative function in the Late Iron Age, drawing attention to the deposition of metalwork in the marshy area of the river just to the northeast of the enclosure. Here a timber trackway was discovered going out across the water, once believed to be the foundations of a wooden tower giving access to an imagined Roman fort (Anthony 1970), though this interpretation has fallen out of favour. The whole complex is now generally seen as some kind of royal ceremonial site. The evidence has been summarised most recently by Haselgrove and Millett (1997) and Niblett (1999: 405; 2001).

This landscape of multiple enclosures, spread over two to three kilometres of the valley, contrasts greatly with the compact town that was to emerge over the next few generations. Above, we imagined the development of London as being the consequence of an extended series of individual actions, without the assistance of long-term structure plans. These resulted in widely spread out public buildings that enabled movement, procession and therefore status display to take place. By way of contrast, in the towns that developed on top of legionary fortresses, public buildings appeared tightly clustered together, exhibiting a kind of order and plan not visible in London. Within Verulamium there is none of the clustering of the militarily influenced sites, but while there is a gradual development of 'public building' in the town, as in London, the spatial geography appears to be rather differently ordained.

The key element to the design of the new town of Verulamium was not down in the valley bottom itself but set on the visual crest of the hill, on the opposite side of the river Ver from the St Michael's enclosure; this was the Folly Lane burial complex. Whatever the original function of this massive rectangular enclosure, an unnamed individual of extremely high status was cremated there in the years shortly after the Claudian annexation, and certainly by AD 55 (Niblett 1999; Creighton 2001b). Military gear suggests at some point he had served in the Roman cavalry, and it is highly likely that he represents either one of the friendly kings of the Claudian period, or else a very close relative or successor. Symbolic references to his territory appear to have been made during the burial rite, whereby the funerary shaft was sealed with stacks of turf that had been cut and brought in from a wide variety of different types of pasture, perhaps representing samples of his domains. The importance of this enclosure is that it became a centre for the repeated

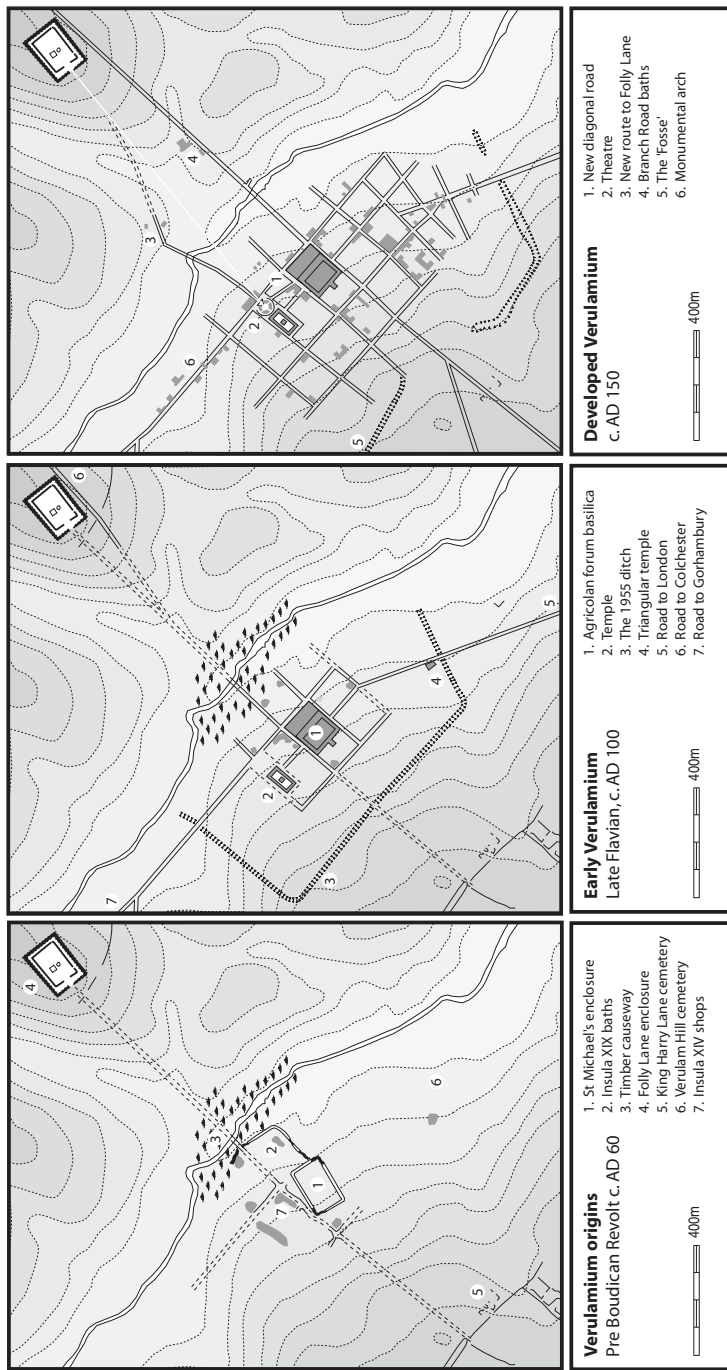


Figure 7.1 The development of Verulamium (after Niblett 1999 with additions)

commemoration of this individual, or at least what he signified, throughout the later first, second and early third centuries. However important he was in life, in death he became the focal point of an enduring cycle of ritual acts which did not just occur within the enclosure itself, but framed the very geography of the city below. We can see this in the chronological development of the townscape (Figure 7.1).

In the Later Iron Age a timber causeway had crossed the marsh. Projected up the hill, this led to the entrance of the Folly Lane enclosure, the date of which is potentially much earlier than the final burial. Projected the other way, the track glanced the side of the St Michael's enclosure. This was the primary axis that formed the basis of the orthogonal layout of the townscape, not a classic east–west alignment, nor an orientation based upon the road to London or Colchester. The original layout was locally divined, not conceived in relation to distant places or the movement of the sun.

Amongst the earliest buildings in Claudio-Neronian Verulamium was a bath-house in *Insula XIX*, between the St Michael's enclosure and the causeway up to the burial enclosure. Bath-houses were frequently found in association with cult centres in Gaul, as washing and cleansing were often important parts of the rites practised. What we may have is a sequence of ritualised activity, involving procession from the proto-forum via the bath-house, across the causeway and up to pay respects at the Folly Lane enclosure, where a small temple was duly erected – or indeed movement could be the other way round, starting at the burial-site temple and working down to the political heart of the town.

This link between the lower town and the enclosure was embellished over time as new buildings and roads were added, until an entire processional circuit was established. The Flavian monumentalisation of the forum gave a focus for the town directly by the trackway leading up to Folly Lane. This provision for procession and veneration was greatly enhanced by the construction of a temple and theatre northwest of the forum (Kenyon 1934; Lowther 1937). Built around AD 90, the temple was not of the classical type: it lacked the front cascade of steps leading down to an altar on which sacrifices could take place. Instead, it was fronted by an open area where later a theatre was constructed. The stone-built theatre was dated by Kenyon to some time around AD 150 (Kenyon 1934: 215). However, there is a possibility that there was an earlier timber phase to the structure. The evidence for this comes from a semi-circle of massive timber post-holes which were partly overbuilt by the later masonry curtain wall. These could however relate to the construction of the stone-built theatre.

The design and location of the theatre are particularly interesting. It is situated not only on an axial alignment with the AD 90 temple, but also on the long axis of the Folly Lane enclosure which overlooks it from the hill-side above the river Ver. The theatre also defies classical norms in its design. In the Vitruvian concept of the theatre, the best seats in the house (where

the men of highest rank sat) were opposite the stage around the orchestra. In the case of the Verulamium theatre there were several significant divergences from this model. First, there was an entrance directly opposite the stage, just where the best views would have been. The implication of this is that the visual link between the stage and the temple was important. The second deviation from the classical norm was that the auditorium was not semi-circular, but larger, reducing the stage area. This is not uncommon on a number of Gallo-Roman sites as well, and these structures have often been described as amphitheatre–theatre hybrids (perhaps saving a community money from economising on having two buildings). One function of this would be that as some of the populace faced the stage, others would have been on view flanking either side of it, perhaps visually associating them with whatever ritual acts were happening on stage. Again this provides an architectural strategy for marking off one section of the community from another. In terms of its location and aspect, the theatre can be seen as the locus of ritual acts linking rites associated with the temple in the town and the Folly Lane enclosure on the skyline above.

As the town developed, slowly connections to the outside world became more important, and in the early second century a new main road was constructed out of the town, parallel to the old one, but this time running to one side of Folly Lane. This new road had a more distant focus, namely the colony at Colchester. None the less, this by no means suggests the enclosure was neglected or lost its importance. In the AD 140s much of the site was renovated. The ditch was filled in, but the bank was visually enhanced with the addition of white chalk to its face on its townward side. Also just below the enclosure a large number of ritual shafts were dug. Further down the hill by the new road a new bath-house was constructed around the AD 150s. As if to confirm its association with rituals connected with the enclosure, the building faced up towards Folly Lane rather than southwest towards the town (the Branch Road bath-house: Saunders 1976). The road continued down to the forum, the political heart of the town. Continuing the circuit, a new addition was sliced through the townscape: from the forum to the entrance to the theatre a diagonal street had been cut, contrary to the orthogonal layout of the town. In the theatre further acts of more public veneration could take place in front of a mass audience, with the select participants either on stage, or else on display in the stadia facing the rest of the auditorium. From the theatre a full circuit could be made with another trackway slowly wending its way up the hill back to the royal burial (Niblett 1999, 2000). Everything was built in reference to everything else.

Here we have a relatively complete circuit of potential activities. Even when the new Colchester road effectively bypassed the Folly Lane site as longer-distance communication became more important, the enclosure did not fall into obscurity, as the positioning of monuments within the town and the digging of votive pits throughout the second to third centuries testify.

If we try to compare this to the genesis of Colchester and the other towns on fortress sites, then the pattern of life here appears rather different. No clustering of monuments; instead a broad scatter which none the less worked in harmony with each other, drawing its occupants back time and again to Folly Lane. If we attempt to relate the genesis of this townscape to that of London there are both similarities and differences. The greatest similarity is in the provision and scope for procession, from monument to monument. In the case of London, however, there is virtually no evidence for a 'corporate plan' or design for the provision of buildings. New monuments appear to go up where land is available in a series of independent ventures with little direct interrelationship, whereas at Verulamium there does seem to be an overarching conception. The theatre and the Branch Road bath-house may have been benefactions by different individuals. We do not know this one way or the other, but what binds it all together is a circuit of commemoration drawing in Folly Lane and the burial of a long-dead individual.

What does this mean? One thing that is lacking from our evidence at Verulamium is a variety of richly adorned town houses. Generally in Britain it is only from the mid to late second century that well-furnished urban dwellings appear, though even before then there is a significant use of wall-plaster and other adornments, which suggests some alterations of self-image. The Pompeian notion of multiple processions from *domus* to forum and bath-house does not quite emerge from Verulamium's plan, and neither does our counter-model based on experience of military life. Instead, could it be that the family of the deceased at Folly Lane continued to monopolise power in the city for two centuries after his death? Each generation seems to have augmented the route by adding or refurbishing buildings or constructing new roads, each action reaffirming their lineage and immortalising themselves in the circuit of memory. Of course this continuity may mask changes in the dominant family in the town. In Rome succeeding dynasties continued to make links back to earlier ones to legitimate themselves, so it is equally likely that here in Verulamium the leading family could have changed, but still harked back to rites involving Folly Lane to reinforce their position.

From the town charters of southern Spain we learn that one of the first duties of the town's magistrates was to determine the public cults and religious calendar of the community, and to assume responsibility for their commemoration (Woolf 1998: 224). Often a communal sanctuary would be established, syncretised in a form that suggested cognisance of the Roman pantheon, alongside cults of the *genius pagi*, possibly associated with the Imperial cult. It matters little whether the object of veneration at Folly Lane was a dead king himself, or a notional deified ancestor of the last king; the implication is the same. In the mid-first century AD a power structure was immortalised in the spatial geography of the town. Through repeated but slightly altering practices, that power structure was constantly remembered and perpetuated over two centuries.

Verulamium's leading family had to live somewhere; one residence stands out in the neighbouring landscape, the villa at Gorhambury (Neal *et al.* 1990). This was one of the Later Iron Age enclosures that dominated the valley slopes before the development of the town. It was only a short walk to the forum, along Watling Street and through several of the ceremonial arches, which had been erected. A succession of up-to-date houses had been built here, from timber buildings to two masonry villas, one replacing the other. Elsewhere in the enclosure were massive granaries, containing more than enough to feed a multitude for a while. I am not sure I discern much competition for honour in Verulamium as we see in classical Mediterranean towns. The residents at Gorhambury controlled large grain reserves (allocative resources), while they enacted life within a townscape which commemorated people who were quite probably their ancestors (authoritative resources). Between the living and the dead at Gorhambury and Folly Lane, I envisage the competition for authority in Verulamium as being pretty much sewn up.

Gosbecks (Camulodunum)

Camulodunum was the capital of Cunobelin's kingdom (Dio 60.21.4). Archaeologically the *oppidum* comprised a group of scattered foci on the plateau between the Roman river and the Colne, given coherence by a set of large linear earthworks. The trajectory for urban living here was significantly altered in AD 49 by the foundation of the *colonia* (examined earlier, p. 110). However, this is hindsight, and was not to be known in the earliest years of the development of the Later Iron Age complex. Certainly, the legionary population established in the fortress would have dominated local politics, but in the vicinity we know that there were still 'native' residents. High-status burials continue uninterrupted at Stanway, seamlessly spanning the Claudian annexation. Even upon the creation of the colony, *incolae* are mentioned, indicating the native presence alongside the military veterans. The tombstone in Nomentum of Gnaeus Munatius Aurelius Bassus, one-time census officer for the colony, called the city 'Colonia Victricensis which is in Britain at Camulodunum' (*ILS* 2740), as if the native population, known by its original name, had a separate existence from the veteran community. To be sure, no additional fora were constructed outside the colony's boundaries, but in the Gosbecks area there was plenty else happening.

At Verulamium we observed that the burial of an individual at Folly Lane had a long-lasting effect upon the structuring principles of the town. Do we see anything comparable happening at Camulodunum? Two principal cemetery groups have been uncovered with Later Iron Age and Early Roman burials. The best known focuses on the Lexden tumulus to the north of Gosbecks, excavated in 1924 (Figure 7.2). This was a large mound that covered a burial chamber. In a similar way to Folly Lane it contained the

deliberately broken and fragmented remains of the grave and pyre goods given to what is assumed to be a single male individual (Laver 1927; Foster 1986). The ceramics dated the assemblage to around 15–10 BC, and the imports included amphorae, a folding chair, and other exotic items, most famously a silver medallion of Augustus himself (Figure 2.4). This burial is often assumed to be that of a friendly king, though exactly who has always been open to question. Cunobelin was the original favourite, until archaeological chronologies made the dating of the material untenable. Addeddomarus and Dubnovellaunus have also been seen as possible contenders, as each had coins circulating in the area at around the right period, but attaching specific names to unmarked graves is always fraught with problems. This burial was not on its own; in the vicinity, now much built upon, other cremations were found which also contained ceramics imported in the Later Iron Age (Hawkes and Crummy 1995: 85).

The second most obvious cluster of burials comes from Stanway, excavated in the 1980s–1990s, located some way to the west of Gosbecks. These are not yet fully published but interim reports again show them to be a series of wealthy graves from the late first century BC until after the Claudian annexation (Hawkes and Crummy 1995: 169). Since they represent a small number of individuals, buried in a series of related enclosures over a period of several generations, the complex gives the impression of sustained tradition. Hawkes and Crummy interpreted this as showing continuity in the ruling class dominating this area.

These two burial grounds have to be understood within contemporary discourse surrounding the imagined political/military history of the area. It is commonly held that ‘the Catuvellauni’ under their leader Tasciovanus and his successor Cunobelin encroached upon the territory of the Trinovantes under Addeddomarus and/or Dubnovellaunus. So the Lexden cemetery includes the burial of the original leaders, while the Stanway enclosures have been seen as representing the stability and success of the new order (Hawkes and Crummy 1995: 170). Exactly whether the appearance of Tasciovanian coinage in this area marked a military takeover, a union through marriage or the transfer of domains from one king to another by the Princes, will always be contentious without literary evidence. However, our reconstruction of these two as competing dynasties may be entirely illusory. The coinages of supposed rivals both derive from the same gold series which emerged after the Caesarean conquest (British L), and Cunobelin and Dubnovellaunus actually share a type (silver coin A3: De Jersey 2001); finally there is even a coin with their joint names on it from the recently discovered Leicestershire hoard (see p. 49; Williams and Hobbs 2003: 55). Both are more suggestive of co-operation and continuity between these leaders than of enmity and warfare. Whatever, the majestic burial in the north and the new ones in the east appear to have had a crucial role in the early Roman development of the Gosbecks complex.

An enclosure, often called 'Cunobelin's farmstead', was situated close to the fort at Gosbecks already mentioned (Figure 3.3). This site has seen no excavation beyond a couple of trenches through its 2.5m-deep boundary ditches. It has always been assumed to be a farmstead since other Iron Age enclosures in the region are often trapezoidal or sub-rectangular, such as at Stanstead. However, the compound could equally be similar to the St Michael's enclosure at Verulamium, more a locus for specific ritual and administrative acts rather than a residence. None the less, in the vicinity of this two other monuments were constructed, first 'the temple', then later a theatre. The precise structure and topographic setting of both of these is fundamental to understanding the purpose of the complex.

The 'temple' comprised three features. First, there was a massive ditch, 3.4m deep, forming a square. There was no sign of any bank associated with this in the minor trenching which has been done on the site (Hull 1954). The ditch prevented access into the centre from any direction except for a small entrance on the west. Secondly, a portico surrounded the boundary, providing a sheltered vantage point from which to observe whatever happened inside the enclosure. It also enabled visibility through the enclosure, without blocking off sight of the surrounding landscape. Reconstruction drawings often give this feature a solid external wall, but this need not have been the case on the basis of the evidence. Finally, within the complex a small concentric double-square temple was constructed, off-centre. The set-up is very reminiscent of Folly Lane, where again the 'temple' was offset, since the centre was occupied by the burial shaft. Formally the Gosbecks temple and the Folly Lane enclosure are very similar, and I would imagine that in the unexcavated centre of Gosbecks there lies a burial chamber. This is not a new idea; when the mortuary complex at Fison Way, Thetford, was excavated, Gregory (1991) commented upon similarities with Gosbecks. Also, after Folly Lane was discovered various individuals wondered if Gosbecks might not be of comparable character (e.g. Crummy 1997: 28; Forcey 1998: 93). Dating evidence is, as always, frustratingly tenuous. The ditch was kept very clean, but a coin of Cunobelin was found in the primary silt. However, apart from some mortar believed to be from the construction of the portico, the next fill appears to be related to the dereliction of the building in the third century, in which case the complex lasted as a ritual focus for about as long as Folly Lane did (Esmonde Cleary 1998b: 407). So if it was a burial, then it is liable to have been a very high-status one.

A short distance away is the theatre, which appears to have been constructed some time not long after AD 100 (Dunnett 1971: 34). Originally it had a timber *cavea*, but this was soon replaced with an earthen bank and masonry retaining wall. The building functioned into the mid-third century (Hull 1954: 267–9). Like the Verulamium theatre it broke several classical conventions. In both phases it had an axial passage at ground level, providing a line of sight from the timber stage through to the north. Not only was

there this passageway, but also immediately in front of the stage in the later building two massive upright posts framed this vista, suggesting a staircase leading down towards the passage (Dunnett 1971: 42). All of this looks as if procession through the arched entrance from the north and up on to the stage was important. The stage also lacked wings and a *scaena* building behind. This meant that from up there the officiants had a 180 degree view of the landscape to the south.

Hawkes and Crummy brought these elements together and interpreted the theatre and temple as part of a complex similar to the rural sanctuaries of Gaul, even seeing an ambiguous cropmark nearby as a potential bath-house. However, Gallic sites such as Ribemont-sur-Ancre are strikingly organised in their layout, which is far from random. There the temple, bath-house, theatre and other buildings were all arranged in a symmetrical plan with careful consideration. At Gosbecks, the initial impression is rather more haphazard, with the theatre, burial/temple and farmstead on different alignments. The arrangement at Gosbecks can only be understood by looking at the broader landscape. In Verulamium the new public buildings were constructed in relation to an earlier important burial; here too, it is possible the same thing was happening, with explicit directional references made to the earlier and later burial grounds at Lexden and Stanway.

The theatre is very carefully located. By looking from the stage through the axial passage one's gaze is directed north towards the Lexden burial ground. By rotating 90 degrees to the west, one looks directly at the Stanway cemetery, unobstructed by wings or a *scaena* that are otherwise unaccountably missing. This is unlikely to be by chance. Geometrically, in order to obtain such a 90 degree angle the theatre would have had to be located on the arc indicated on Figure 7.2 (the centre of the arc being the mid-point between Lexden and Stanway). Visibility across to Stanway would have been restricted along most of this arc because of the height of the Heath Farm and Gosbecks dykes. However, this impediment to observation is broken where the banks dip down into a small valley to allow for the passage of a stream, leaving only a short distance along which both Lexden and Stanway would have been visible at a 90 degree angle. Even so, along much of this theoretical arc the banks of 'Cunobelin's farmstead' would also have got in the way. It is only for a confined 20–30m stretch that a 90 degree co-alignment on the Lexden and Stanway burial grounds was possible, and that is precisely where the theatre was constructed. The design facilitated the view of the officiant on stage each way, north and west.

If we think about visual referents, then this also helps explain why the temple/burial is on a different angle to the theatre as well. If we look at the axis of this, then it too is orientated towards Stanway.

The entire complex appears to be making references back to the past dignitaries of Camulodunum's history. This is not just an immediate post-annexation phenomenon, as the construction of the second-century theatre

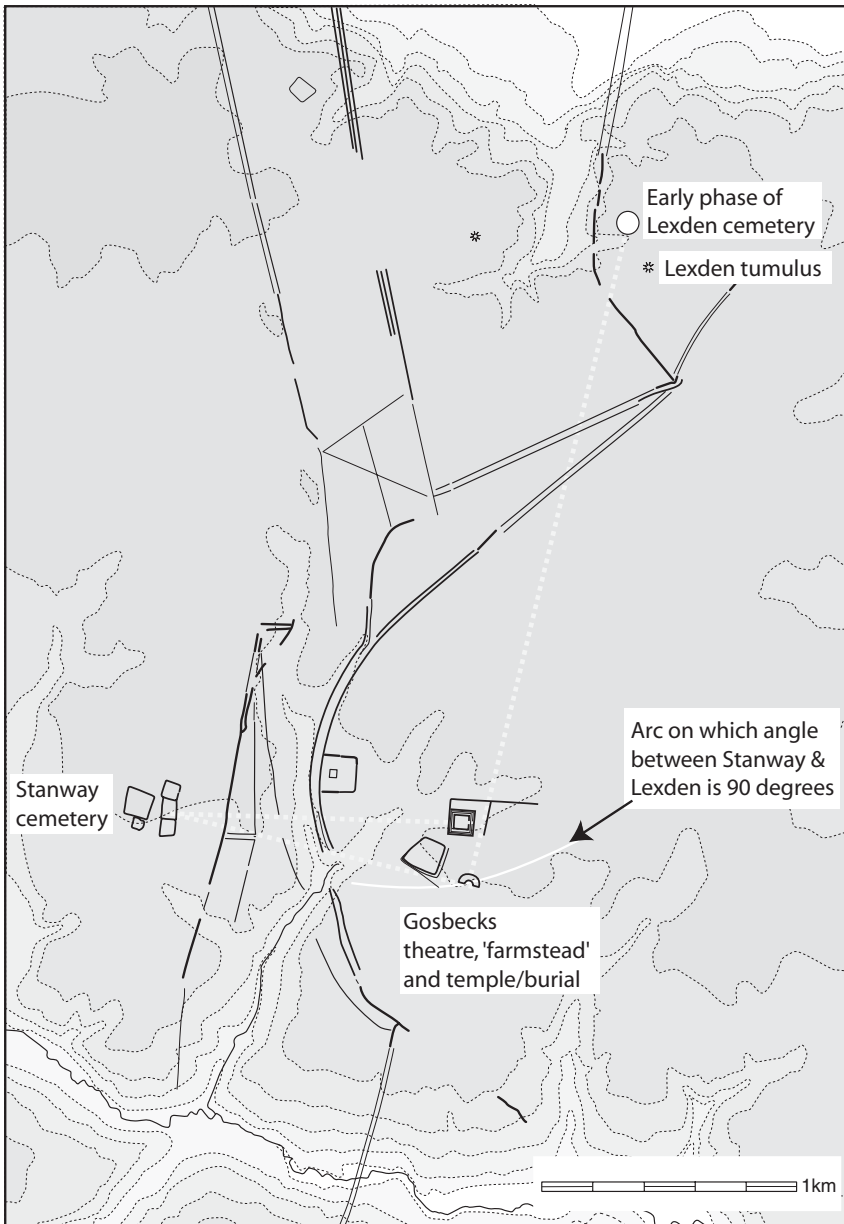


Figure 7.2 The monuments at Gosbecks in relation to the Stanway and Lexden burials (after Hawkes and Crummy 1995, with additions)

demonstrates, but something that continued well into the Roman period. Whatever rituals were being carried out, and whoever was buried in the now central Gosbecks burial/temple, a very specific version of history was being created and immortalised in bricks and mortar.

In Rome, Augustus had adorned his new forum with statues of the great and the good of the Roman Republic (the *summi viri*). The monument sought legitimation for the current regime in the heroes of the past. That some of these heroes had actually been mortal enemies did not prevent history from being rewritten here for the benefit of the present (Zanker 1988: 214). In the same way the complex at Gosbecks has an integrating function, connecting those interred at Lexden (the local earlier rulers?) with those at Stanway (the Tasciovanian dynasty?), with the individual buried at Gosbecks itself providing the unifying link. Perhaps, as Crummy (1997: 27) thinks, this was Cunobelin's grave? Perhaps it was a later friendly king? It could *even* have been the same person buried at Folly Lane, since we should note that often only some of the cremated remains of individuals are found in Late Iron Age burials. As with Lexden, putting a name to an unmarked grave (if it is a grave) is fraught with problems. Idle speculation may lead to intriguing possibilities but is ultimately useless in the absence of any concrete information. However, what we can be sure of is that this site was the locus of an activity that constantly made references to the past to reinforce the power structures of the present. This appeal to the Later Iron Age structures of authority was made repeatedly down to the early third century.

If this ritual complex drew upon multiple royal lineages of the past to legitimise the present, then this heightens the possibility that this may have been where the provincial council met, though in truth our knowledge about the provincial cult's location is less than certain and Londinium would be my preferred guess (cf. Mann 1998; and above p. 101).

Gosbecks represents a curious site, in many ways analogous to the ritual development of Verulamium, but without the rest of the urban construction. We have procession and display, but not residency. It has long been thought that the development of urbanism in some areas of northeast Gaul and that of rural sanctuaries were closely linked (Walthew 1982). Here may be a British example. I would imagine that had it not been for the formation of the colony on the site of the legionary base three kilometres to the north-east, a town would have grown up in the vicinity of these structures, just as it did at Verulamium.

Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum)

Unlike Gosbecks, the Iron Age settlement at Silchester did develop to become a Roman town. We have already examined some aspects of the settlement's forum-basilica (above p. 64). Now we need to look at the broader context of the public buildings here. As can be seen on Figure 7.4, most of

them are fairly spread out. In some ways this conforms to our Pompeian model, whereby processional routes could have taken individuals around the town, displaying their status as they moved from home to forum to baths and back again. Indeed this may have been the case. Certain buildings were constructed very early on: the forum has timber phases that may have begun in AD 43 or even earlier; and the bath-house is also probably Claudio-Neronian, pre-dating the town's Flavian street grid since part of its front portico had to be knocked down to make way for one of the roads. The amphitheatre itself dates to the Neronian–Early Flavian period. As far as temples are concerned, to the east there is a *temenos* containing at least two double-square Romano-British temples; there is a circular one south of the forum, and while it is not usually shown in reconstructions, there may have been a classical temple incorporated into one of the later rebuilds of the basilica (Period 5; cf. Millett 2001b: 395). All in all there appears to be a gradual and spread-out pattern of munificence at this site, which also accords with our Pompeian model. Even the erection of epigraphy around the forum-basilica appears to be similar to the kind of practices we can see in Mediterranean examples (Figure 7.3; Isserlin 1998).

The Edwardian excavations at the start of the century surveyed the overall shape of the city by wall chasing to create the 'Great Plan' – a composite map of the town which included many houses of widely differing dates. Over the twentieth century, this has been fleshed out, primarily by the work of Boon (1957, 1974) and Fulford (1984, 1989; Fulford and Timby 2000). One of the most significant revelations in recent years has been the discovery of Iron Age streets on a different alignment from the Roman ones, perhaps even forming a grid (p. 65). This had long been suspected, since Fox (1948) noted that many of the early buildings, such as the bath-house, were not square to the classic 'Roman' orthogonal plan, but deviated from it by several degrees. When the new road layout was implemented many of the buildings that survived had new porches added to them to bring their frontages into alignment with the new road-lines (e.g. Buildings XXIII.2 and XVIII.A.3). However, in some cases, as with the bath-house, part of them had to be knocked down to make way for the new streets. We cannot be sure that these buildings at angles to the Roman grid all had mid-first-century origins, since the Edwardian excavations often lacked detailed dating evidence. However, current excavations under Insula IX are certainly suggesting that at least the one under investigation there had very early origins (IX.1; Fulford 2003).

Exactly what the new Flavian grid layout replaced is difficult to reconstruct. The basilica excavations revealed two earlier road alignments underneath (Figure 3.4). Since these were approximately at right angles to each other, this has often been taken to suggest there was an earlier Iron Age street grid, but on a different alignment. However, this may be overstating the case, as it is not backed up by any other stretches of early roadway. The temptation

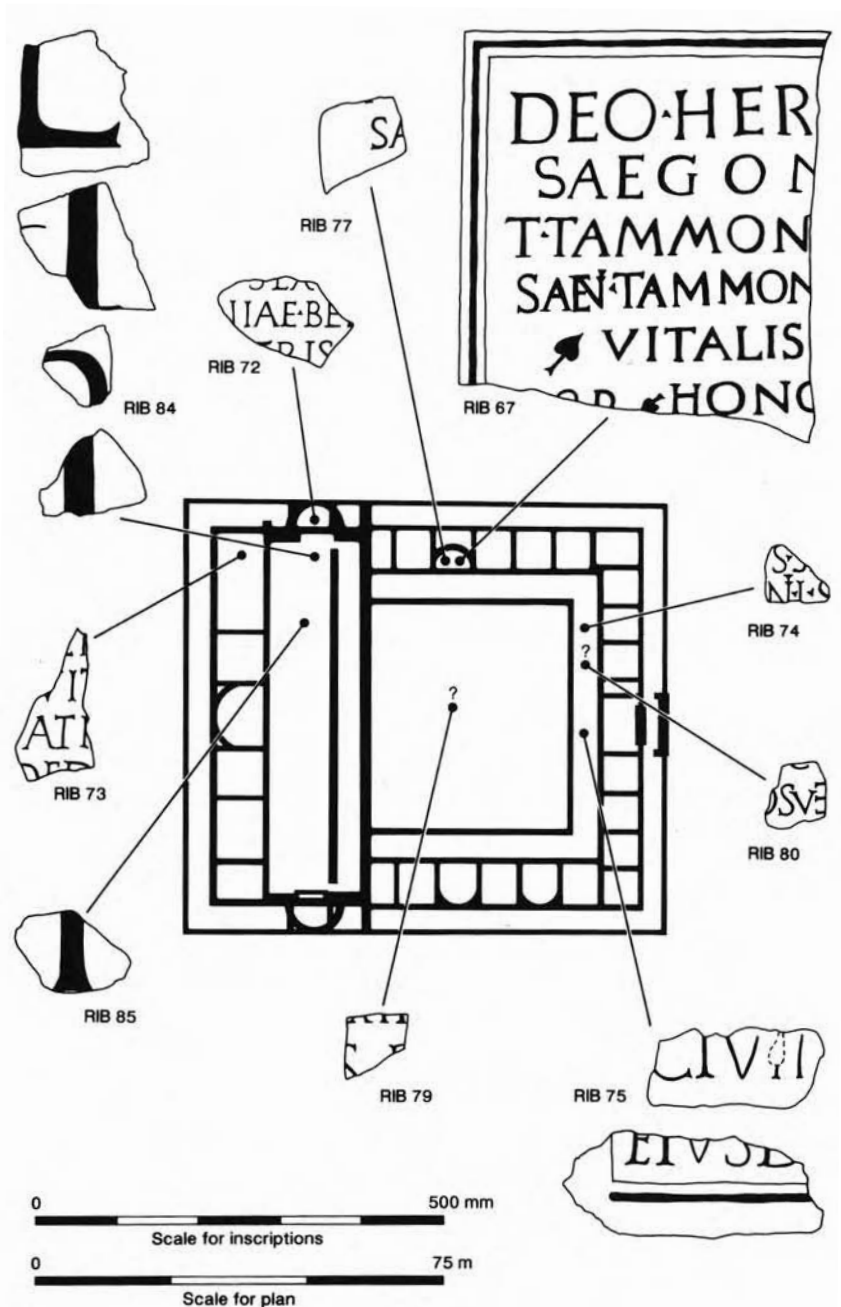


Figure 7.3 The epigraphy found at the forum in Silchester (drawn by Raphael Isserlin 1998)

to extrapolate from short sections of road to create orthogonal systems is very strong, since it fulfils our expectations of what we want to find, but additional evidence when it comes can often show how our desires get the better of us, as we will see when we look at Canterbury (below p. 145). All we know we have at Silchester is two roads arriving at the centre of the site at approximate right angles. We also have the road leading away from the centre to the east, which is not on the same alignment as the Roman street grid, so this may *also* be early. If so, the sum of the evidence is of three streets coming together in the centre of the site, which is where the forum eventually gets built. This may not be as exciting as imagining an Iron Age street grid, with all its implications of pre-Claudian Romanisation, but this more mundane interpretation is how I see the evidence. I have reconstructed this suggestion in Figure 7.4, adding to it some of the 'mis-aligned' buildings, which may have early foundations. In this version, the erection of a major new building in Period 4 at the junction of these roads in the Tiberio-Claudian era, sweeping away pre-existing buildings, makes sense for a new set-piece construction at the physical centre of the town.

Together with the Late Iron Age inner earthwork, the early layout envisaged here has some parallel and planned elements too, but is by no means an Iron Age grid. If this arrangement originated in the late first century BC, its contrast with the Flavian street grid is in many ways similar to the contrast between some Augustan period forts and their Flavian successors. Augustan forts in Germany tend to be in large polygonal enclosures, which often have right angles in some but not all corners. They also have planned but not always orthogonal layouts – for example, the fortress at Marktbreit on the river Main (Pietsch *et al.* 1991; von Schnurbein 2000) – whereas their Flavian successors are the much more familiar playing-card arrangements. If early Calleva was established by one of the Later Iron Age dynasts who had some experience in the Roman army, then some structural similarity with Augustan forts would not be too surprising.

In the Claudio-Neronian phase, it looks as if there was a variety of large houses spread out across the town (of which the diagonal house in Insula IX under excavation by Fulford and Clarke was one), to which were being added the new proto-forum in the centre, a bath-house and the amphitheatre. None the less, this cityscape was radically altered in the Flavian period by the imposition of a new orthogonal street pattern. Nothing was allowed to get in the way of this. If the front portico of the recently built bath-house was on the line of a newly ordained road, then it would have to be demolished and rebuilt, leaving the path clear. This tells us something about the level of authority which an individual, or council, could wield in the Flavian period.

The contrast between early Silchester and the later more orthogonal layout reminds me of the contrast between the Augustan *oppida* of Gaul and their 'Roman town' successors. In the Augustan period at Mont Beuvray, the early capital of the Aedui, grand residences emerged as well as a temple/forum

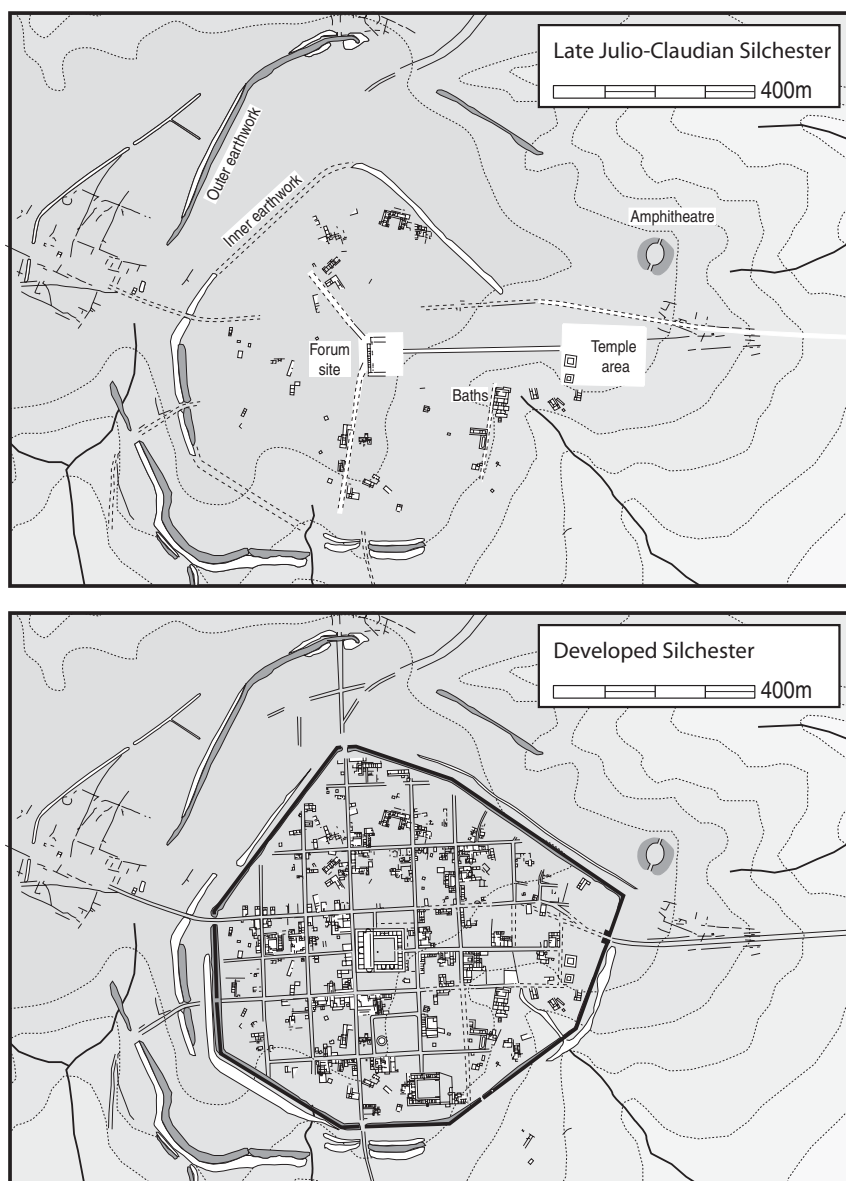


Figure 7.4 The possible development of Silchester

complex, but as no form of street grid was imposed there are just the individual buildings. However, when the populace moved down to found the city in the Arroux valley at Autun a generation later, this time all the monumental architecture was constructed within a new rectilinear plan (Woolf 1998: 118). More directly this shift parallels the upheavals at Saintes in Aquitania, where classical monuments were raised by one generation in the Augustan period only to be swept away by the next as a new street grid was imposed (Maurin 1988; Woolf 2002: 12). At Silchester much careful planning must have gone into creating an orthogonal layout without destroying too many of the earlier buildings. But the symbolic importance of the grid must have lain heavy since it necessitated the knocking down of the front portico of the relatively recently constructed bath-house.

This new layout has always been interpreted as being more orderly, more 'rational'. In a recent essay on the geography of the town Fulford (1999a) defined the basic structuring principle as being related to the main London road leading up from the valley to the forum, just as the Thames bridge road ran up to the forum-basilica in London. He described what it would have been like to travel into Silchester along the road from the east. As one approached, the street led up from the valley towards the town, with the Romano-Celtic temples dominating the horizon on the town's outskirts. From here the road was imagined as continuing on, directly towards the entrance to the forum. However, here was a snag, a blockage:

the town plan shows a *temenos* wall enclosing the temples on the high ground to the east and blocking the course of the London road leading into the town. When, and why, was this built? . . . Since the concept of a continuous and straight approach [to the forum] from the east would not make sense if it is then to be obstructed, let us assume that the building of the *temenos* wall was secondary to the construction of one or both of the temples, and consider a context for it. The arrangement of a 'grand boulevard' sweeping up to the forum is compatible with a relatively low volume of traffic. But Silchester was on the major route from London to the west and southwest which all traffic would have been required to take. In this sense the construction of the forum-basilica represented a major obstacle around which all traffic had to negotiate. The plan of Silchester shows quite clearly that, by the time of the construction of the east and west gates, the street which runs to the north of *insula* IV (containing the forum-basilica) had become the principal E-W thoroughfare . . . The volume of through-traffic was such as to necessitate a significant change in the town's geography whereby the original route in from the east became redundant and was symbolised by the walling-off of the temples at the eastern limit.

(Fulford 1999a: 164)

In this interpretation the London road originally swept through the temple area and up a boulevard to the forum entrance. Since Silchester was a successful city the increase in traffic flow led to a redevelopment with these shrines being bypassed. The now marginalised temples then had a *temenos* wall constructed around them with traffic shifted to a more northerly east–west route. Up to a point the interpretation sounds eminently plausible, and it may well be correct. Curiously, at the time the article was written another controversial bypass was being constructed around nearby Newbury to alleviate excess traffic through that town. However, how much ‘through-traffic’ would there ever have been in a Roman town? How much is this concept based upon the modern experience of bypasses rather than ancient travel? In the past people would have journeyed from town to town, stopping there to eat, sleep, and change horses or mules. However, my problem is not so much in believing this to be anachronistic; rather I think there is a different way of reading the meaning of the temple complex, in the light of our new understanding of the development of Verulamium.

At Verulamium the principal orientating feature of the new town and orthogonal layout had been the link from the St Michael’s enclosure up to the Folly Lane enclosure; so why not imagine the same for Silchester, with the earliest axis being from the timber forum to the temple *temenos*? Indeed the temple *temenos* could be another burial enclosure such as at Folly Lane and Gosbecks.

When we view the developed town of Silchester, we see the temple as being inside the town, but originally it was outside the early defences, the Iron Age ‘Inner Earthwork’. Of the other early public buildings, the bath-house was also outside this circuit, and was constructed on the same alignment as the temple as if they were part of an associated development. The axis of the amphitheatre is different, but also points towards the area of the *temenos*, rather than towards any obvious road or other building. Have we underestimated the importance of this area?

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the *temenos* enclosure is slight (Boon 1974: 157). It is the only part of Silchester that lies underneath modern buildings, including the parish church and graveyard. All we know is that the temples had massive walls, 1m thick, and the northern of the two at 22.5m square just happens to be the largest of its kind known in Britain, which must surely hold a great significance (Lewis 1966: 20). This building, on the visual crest of the hill overlooking the London road, would have been visible for miles. Unfortunately, the Edwardian excavations did not provide any dating evidence for the structure. So, if we wanted to imagine where a burial pit might lie, then the middle of a hypothesised enclosure would place it pretty much directly under the manor house that now occupies the site. Since the owners have been generous and wonderful supporters of the excavations in the town, it would seem a little ungracious to knock it down to excavate beneath.

At Verulamium, the road up to Folly Lane provided the original axial feature for the new street grid. As time moved on the road up to the enclosure split just before it and the new branch projected further to become a main road to Colchester. At Calleva it is possible we have the same thing. There is no evidence that the main road to London ever went through the *temenos* area, and arrivals from the east may always have been taken around it. I find the idea of a forum aligned on an earlier influential burial or mausoleum far more appealing than imagining it was orientated on a road to London. Indeed the Period 4 building on the basilica site is likely to pre-date the construction of London itself, let alone a road leading to it from Silchester. Again we have a townscape that can be imagined as developing along lines that ritualised the veneration of a former regional leader or friendly king (Eppillus, Verica, Eppaticcus or maybe even Cogidubnus?).

Caistor St Edmund (Venta Icenorum)

Verulamium, Camulodunum and Calleva can all be thought to have been securely within the territory of the Late Iron Age friendly kingdoms of the Tasciovanian or Commian dynasties; but what about outside these regions? East Anglia was an area that after the Claudian arrival we believe was a friendly kingdom under Prasutagus until its incorporation into the province after the Boudican revolt. The centre of this kingdom (if that is not an anachronistic concept in itself) is unknown to us; however, later on it was Caistor St Edmund that became Venta Icenorum, the only *polis* that Ptolemy associated with the *gens* of the Icenii. Caistor St Edmund has seen relatively little excavation in comparison to other green-field Roman towns. None the less, here too the location of a highly probable burial/temple can be identified, which had a significant effect upon the layout of the townscape.

The story of Venta Icenorum has inevitably been bound up in that of the Boudican débâcle. In many renditions it has been seen as a new creation, after the revolt, moving power away from the former political heartland in the Breckland to the south to a new site in the north (e.g. Wachter 1974: 229). Certainly there appears to be a concentration of Late Iron Age material culture and coins in the Breckland, and sites such as Fison Way (Gregory 1991) and Woodcock Hall (Brown 1986) suggest some form of regional focus here. However, even if the development of Caistor to the north was some form of deliberate refocusing of the political landscape, recent finds suggest it had Later Iron Age origins as well. Few excavations have taken place which have tested the lower levels of this site, but discoveries from metal detecting have revealed a significant number of Iron Age finds: La Tène style brooches; terrets; gold and silver coins (Davies 1999: 35). This potentially suggests that there was once a Late Iron Age *oppidum* beneath the later Roman town. This provides an alternative to Wachter's theory that the site developed around the residence of a *praefectus civitatis*, sent in there to administer the region after

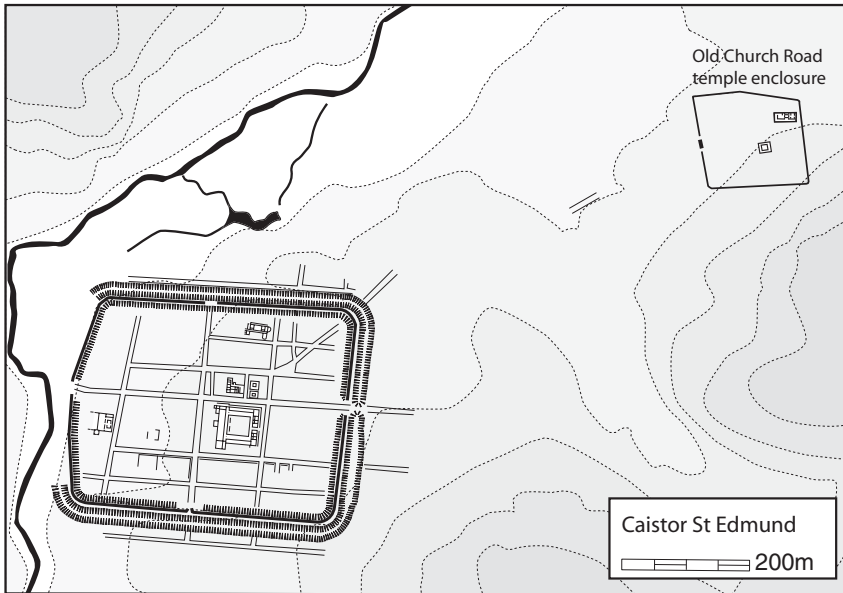


Figure 7.5 The plan of Caistor St Edmund in relation to the Old Church Road temple enclosure (after Gurney 1986 and Frere 1971 with additions)

the revolt, while the decimated population was still unable to govern itself (Wacher 1974: 27). None the less, a note of caution should be added; material culture such as Iron Age coins continued to circulate well into the Flavian period, so only excavation will ever really be able to tell.

Our knowledge of the town plan comes from aerial photography, supplemented by Atkinson's excavations in the 1930s of the forum and bath-house (Figure 7.5; Frere 1971). Two phases were identified in the forum. The first masonry structure was built in the later first or early second century, only to be replaced by another when it was damaged by fire. However, I wonder if the excavation techniques used would have identified an earlier timber phase, just as the Edwardian investigations at Calleva missed the one there until it was recognised by Fulford's re-excavation of the basilica (Fulford and Timby 2000). The city was confined in the early third century by town walls, but the cropmarks clearly show that originally several roads of the grid system continued beyond these limits; indeed some way to the south (off the illustration) is the town's amphitheatre. A striking feature of the plan is the diagonal street on a different alignment to everything else. This recalls the road between the forum and the theatre in Verulamium, as well as that between the forum and the temple/burial enclosure at Calleva, both drawing attention to themselves by deviating from the orthogonal plan. This particular road leads from

a large open area adjacent to the forum and two 'Romano Celtic' temples off towards the northeast out of the city, where it then got cut off by the subsequent city wall. If we follow it beyond this, the route leads up to a temple complex based around Old Church Close.

This complex has seen a number of excavations over the years. It comprises a 2.5ha *temenos* enclosure wall, 0.75m thick, that could have supported a wall 2–3m high. The entrance was through an imposing gateway that in terms of size and scale is comparable to the northern monumental archway in Verulamium, an impressive structure in itself. Within the enclosure, just off the centre, is a classic 'Romano Celtic' temple. All three – *temenos* wall, gateway and temple – were excavated in the 1950s (Gurney 1986). It was noticed that the temple was not in the centre of the enclosure, but just off-set, so in common with interpretations of the day it was assumed the 'missing' focal point must be a sacred tree or similar feature. However, what aerial photographs show clearly in the central point (just northeast of the temple) is a large irregular cropmark about 10–12m across (Gurney 1986: Plate XIV). This cropmark is in exactly the position we would expect to find a funerary shaft on analogy with Folly Lane, where the collapsed burial chamber was of a comparable size. Is this another grave? If so, it would be most unlikely to contain fabulous riches. Metal detecting surveys have been conducted over the site and have not revealed a large signal of buried treasure. Instead, if there were anything there, it would probably be the demolished remains of a burial chamber, and broken and fragmentary relics from the funerary pyre, the kind of evidence which only painstaking excavation with fine sieving could untangle.

So, far from this site being simply 'an important cult centre in the suburbs' (Gurney 1986: 37), it may represent something rather more fundamental to life in the town. I would view this highly monumental complex as being comparable to and more elaborate than Folly Lane. A processional way explicitly links the forum to the *temenos*, and this route is the only one allowed to deviate from the otherwise pronounced rectilinear plan of the townscape. The temple's position on the slopes overlooking the Tas valley gave it an imposing presence for anyone approaching Venta Icenorum from the north, just as the Calleva enclosure dominated the approach from Londinium. But what date is this complex? Alas, the excavations were of varying quality and there were few finds. The coin list includes a Constantinian issue in the sandy foundation trench of the temple, but that was dismissed by the excavator as being intrusive. All one can say is that the general material culture dates from the later first century onwards. However, subsequent metal detector surveys have recovered almost a dozen Iron Age coins from the site. So the date of the commencement of activities here is very ambiguous. Finds suggest the cult continued well into the fourth century, surviving the construction of the town wall that blocked off the direct route between the *temenos* and the forum. Within the enclosure a series of ancillary buildings were constructed

to serve it. Only one appears clearly as a cropmark, a masonry structure $35 \times 15\text{m}$, representing a building with a tiled roof and red-brick tesserae, but with relatively little 'domestic' material culture.

Again, we must consider if we have a town-founder's tomb here. If we do, I am sure that Caistor St Edmund would be bound up again with narratives linking it to the Boudican revolt. Is this Prasutagus' tomb, or perhaps that of his supposed predecessor, Antedios, whose name is known from coins? Whatever, if there is an Iron Age *oppidum* underneath Caistor, and if this does represent the burial of a friendly king from this early period, then our existing narratives seeing Venta Icenorum as a new foundation snubbing the existing political geography will have to be amended.

Other towns

A common theme above is that of a high-status temple/burial enclosure being fundamental to the developing townscapes, and continuing to be a site of veneration through into the third century. Unfortunately, for the other major towns of the southeast, our knowledge of the overall plans is more sketchy because of their presence under modern urban development.

Canterbury (Durovernum Cantiacorum) evolved from the site of an *oppidum*. Early interpretations of the town's layout interpolated from the evidence a nice rectangular street grid, but as more keyhole excavations have taken place, much of this has emerged as illusory as new roads not quite true to the overall alignment have been found (contrast Frere 1966: 92 with Esmonde Clearey 1997: 451). There is no obvious ritual enclosure outside this town, though there is a series of large Romano-British burial tumuli beyond its walls. However, within the heart of the town is a large *temenos* enclosure, just over the road from the theatre. Off-set within this is a Romano-Celtic temple.

On reconstruction drawings of the town a large classical temple has often been inserted into the centre of this *temenos*. The evidence for this is indirect, coming from fragments of a Corinthian capital which could have been derived from such a building (Blagg 1984b). Excavations near the centre in 1997 did not reveal a burial pit, but neither did they find the platform of a classical temple. All they uncovered were the remains of two walls dating to the final courtyard surface, in the later fourth century (Esmonde Clearey 1998b: 431). So the exact location of the hypothesised classical temple within this complex remains unclear.

The *temenos*, with its colonnaded enclosure and temples, was richly adorned, incorporating not only marble from both Carrara and Purbeck, but also both red and green porphyry. In its range and quantity of exotic stone the site compared well with both Fishbourne Palace and the Temple of Claudius at Colchester. The Corinthian capital shows influence from northeast Gaul, and probably dates to the later first or early second century, whereas the excavated

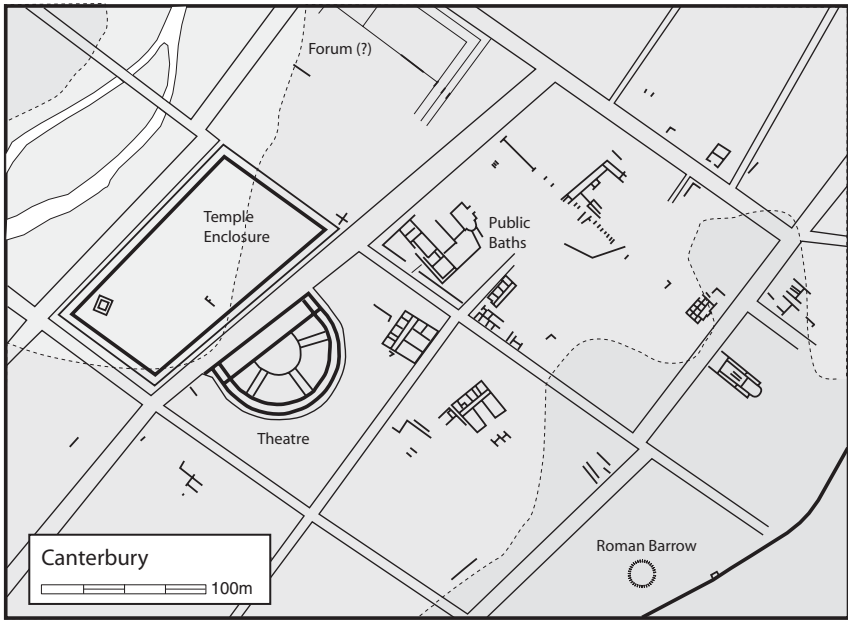


Figure 7.6 The plan of the centre of Canterbury (after Blockley *et al.* 1995)

colonnade probably dates to the early second century. The complex was kept relatively clear until the demolition of the portico in the mid fourth century (Blagg 1984b; Bennett and Nebiker 1986). The *temenos* with its off-set Romano-Celtic temple and its duration has some resonance with the Folly Lane and Gosbecks enclosures. However, unlike these, it is in the town centre and clearly far more elaborate in execution and design. It is difficult to know if we have a related process taking place here, but being monumentalised in a different way; or if something else is happening.

Examining the layout of the town as a whole, we are hampered by not knowing for sure where the forum was. However, in so far as we can tell, the public buildings were concentrated together in a block, in a way reminiscent of the development of Colchester and Wroxeter. It seems as if a far more complex melding of influences and stimuli is at work here in shaping the townscape. Perhaps the proximity and longer-term garrisoning at Richborough had an effect on the evolution of the town; on the other hand perhaps this is special pleading for something that just looks unlike a pattern that was forming elsewhere. Canterbury reaffirms that there are no ‘normal’ Roman towns in Britain, just a variety of settlements, some of which share common themes in their developmental trajectory and the way that town life was enacted within them.

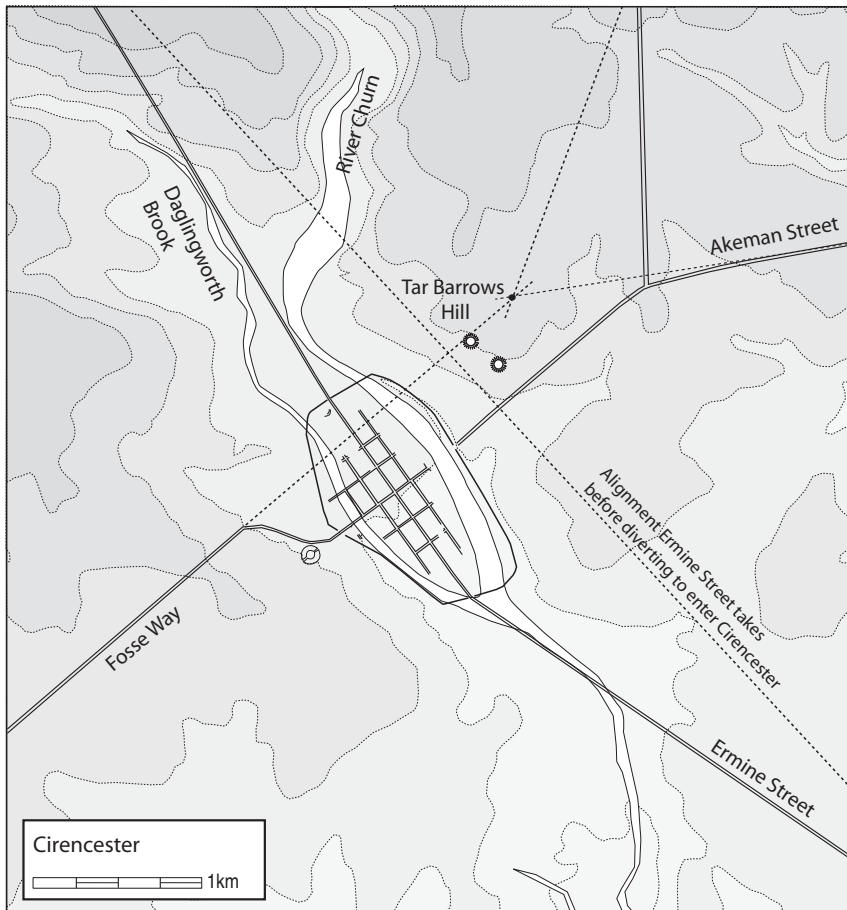


Figure 7.7 The location of Cirencester in relation to Tar Barrows Hill

Cirencester (Corinium Dobunorum) has been imagined as emerging from the growth of a *vicus* or small settlement outside an early auxiliary fort, vacated some time in the AD 70s (McWhirr 1988: 80). The evidence for the fort is by no means conclusive, and derives from some in-filled ditches and fragments of timber buildings. The source of the population of the town has often been envisaged as originating in the movement of people to here from the Iron Age *oppidum* at Bagendon, which had its floruit in the Claudian period. Evidence for monumental architecture begins with the construction of the forum-basilica in the last decades of the first century. This was built in what was to become the centre of the town (McWhirr 1988: 83), though unfortunately it straddled the unconsolidated deposits of the in-filled early

ditch, something which created structural problems later on. In addition to the central buildings, Cirencester also had a theatre and an amphitheatre. These auditoria were situated on the edge of town, the amphitheatre subsequently lying outside the later walled circuit, while the theatre was just inside. Both lay along a direct road from the forum, the amphitheatre south-west along the Fosse Way, and the theatre northwest along Ermine Street. The two monuments were separated by a sufficient distance to allow for observable procession to and from them. Alas we know nothing of the location of either bath-houses or temples.

In the dispersed arrangement these buildings suggest gradual development, but is there any indication of a major burial site anywhere near by? In this case possibly, but its context is not at all well understood. On the northeast side of the town, overlooking the city, lies Tar Barrows Hill. Here are two major tumuli. From the sketchy antiquarian evidence which survives from their opening, it is quite possible that both are Late Iron Age/Early Roman in date (O'Neil and Grinsell 1960: 108; Holbrook 1994: 82). This hillside is also significant for another reason. It is the focal point of all the roads leading to Cirencester; all head directly towards here, and not towards the city itself. In each case the roads are diverted at the last moment to avoid the barrows, and instead head to where the town was actually built on the gravel spur between the river Churn and Daglingworth Brook. This has been discussed most recently by Reece (2003). In conclusion, we do not know if either barrow is within a *temenos* enclosure or associated with any other buildings, but the alignment of the roads does seem to mark this area out as significant; and this orientation of roads on potential burial sites is a phenomenon we have already seen at Verulamium, Silchester and Caistor St Edmund.

At many other sites our town plans are very incomplete, leaving us with even less knowledge with which to speculate, though at Chichester (Noviomagus Regnorum) the inscriptions relating to new building work during the reigns of Cogidubnus and Nero point to Roman style institutions being adopted very early on in the town, with the existence of a *Collegium Fabrorum* (RIB 91 and 92; cf. Wilkes 1996: 29).

Conclusion

Why did the Gallo-Roman [or Romano-British] aristocracies build these cities, in particular the immense grid-planned *civitas* capitals with their grand monuments and public spaces? By the second century AD, elaboration and rebuilding might simply be a sign of conformity to cultural patterns widespread in the empire and more importantly well established by previous generations in Gaul. It is the moment of origins that poses the real problem, that formative period when communities were willing to abandon ancestral sites, found capitals from scratch, gather their dependents together from

their scattered residences and spend immense sums on foreign architects and craftsmen, and on building materials that were not yet easy to come by. Their commitment is all the more evident from their willingness to construct public monuments before devoting these resources to their own residences.

(Woolf 1998: 124)

Woolf, in his analysis of Gaul, found three answers to his own question; the first two related to the deployment of authoritative resources and the negotiation of power (pleasing one's superiors and impressing subordinates), and the last one is connected with the distribution of allocative resources as a form of largesse (the demand for building work, provision of entertainment, etc.).

First, Woolf saw the aristocracy investing in towns partly to impress the Governor, the ultimate patron resident in the province. The forum, the principal building of any significant town, was the locale where the Governor would hold audiences and sit in judgement if visiting that community. It was not just architecture for local consumption, imprinting upon the populace the social order of the community and its place within the Empire; it also gave an impression to the Governor of the level of social competence the aristocracy of each community had reached, since it was here that he saw the performance of these social actors. The use of imagery and epigraphy within the forum, the ritually ordained orthogonal layout of the streets, all would have been understood at a glance by the ex-consul.

The acquisition of social competence within the new Empire of cities and friends was defined at this time by the adoption of practices consistent with *humanitas*. *Humanitas* could form part of the basis of a claim for privilege, such as the elevation of a town's status to that of a *municipium*. To this end schools were established to educate the leading families' sons, instilling into them Roman mores and concepts of *humanitas*. By doing this these select few were incorporated into the Empire's ideological world:

The centrality of [the concept of *humanitas*] to Roman imperial culture is evident from the ways in which it may be seen to have operated. First, there is an ideological naturalization, the representation of a sectional and contingent value system as a set of beliefs with universal validity grounded in the very nature of man. The term *humanitas*, cognate with *homo*, the Latin term for a human being, emphasizes this point. Second, there is the relationship to Roman power, the formulation of *humanitas* as a qualification for rule, and, in so far as Roman rule propagated it, a legitimation of it. Third, *humanitas* provided a description of Roman culture which also operated to define it and bind it together.

(Woolf 1998: 56)

That some Britons managed to acquire these social competences is clear. The epigrammatist Martial celebrated, much to his surprise, the Romanness of a woman of British stock, one Claudia Rufina, resident in Rome (Mart. *Epig.* 11.53). Binding the emergent oligarchy of the Empire together is but one facet of this process. The development of the concept of 'humanity' created not only cohesion, but also division. By defining what is human, you by implication define what is not human or is sub-human, and the twentieth century was full of examples of the extremes of action that can follow from such ideologies, legitimising violence on perceived inferiors. It is difficult to know how divided Iron Age communities in southern Britain were before the Caesarian and Claudian adventures, but by the mid Roman period the distinctions within society had made the difference between *honestiores* and *humiliores*, the crucial status indicator, rather than the award of citizenship. By adopting the traits of *humanitas* the local aristocracy gained the moral title to rule over their less educated subordinates (Woolf 1998: 74).

This reaffirmed their right to rule in their own eyes and in the eyes of the Governor. However, it is interesting that the locales for the display of this social structure, the forum and other buildings, largely seem to have developed within a framework making explicit reference to the past, legitimating the power of the aristocracy not just in terms of the new Roman hegemony, but also in terms of ancestral rights. At Verulamium, the St Michael's enclosure looked up towards the Folly Lane temple/burial. At Calleva the forum pointed towards another *temenos* enclosure, where a royal grave may lie next to the largest Romano-Celtic temple in Britain. Venta Icenorum had a road cutting across the street grid from the forum directly to an out-of-town *temenos* with a massive monumental entrance, where another off-set temple lay. The pattern becomes seductive, and in each case veneration can be seen continuing into the third century. As we saw above (p. 45), the positions of governors and kings were not too dissimilar to each other, and the claim to be descended from a king, like descent from a former governor (and ex-consul), was something to be proud of. Collectively the forum and *temenos* gave architectural form to the political structure, situating the community within its imperial and historical setting.

What is peculiar is to find this relative similarity of practice. In the Late Iron Age the archaeological evidence reveals widespread differences between East Anglia, the Thames valley and central-southern England; and yet here we find common strategies being employed across this area. Variability is giving way to similarity, but how is this shared practice being forged? The relationship between fora and significant burials is certainly not a common element in Roman towns, so this, *per se*, is not the source of the adoption of this idea. Perhaps a solution can be found in the emergence of new institutions in the early Roman period, which developed and enhanced a sense of commonality amongst the aristocracy that may not have existed before in southern Britain. Meetings such as the Provincial Council will have drawn

select individuals together from different communities. The creation of civic constitutions, new law codes and new priesthoods would have engendered elements of uniformity where previously there may have been many divergent practices. So too would the establishment of schools for the progeny of the ruling classes. This created a commonality amongst the elite that hitherto had only perhaps existed amongst the kings and dynasts themselves in the pre-Claudian period. This bound together ever more strongly this interest group. Amongst the individuals, friendships will have formed and developed and along with them ideas.

It is frustrating that we do not know the precise date of the Folly Lane or Gosbecks enclosures. Both could be just before the Claudian annexation, both could be just after. But their appearance around that horizon, rather than earlier, after the foundation of the two settlements in the later first century BC, is indicative of a 'dash for legitimisation' amongst the successors of those deceased; something that is not at all unlikely in the post-annexation period when authority and power were being renegotiated.

One big issue is the extent to which power was monopolised by the descendants of the last kings, or the degree to which there was genuine competition for authority. In our notional Pompeian image of a town much of this was expressed through competition for magistracies and the display of one's client-base during *salutatio*. In the Romano-British towns, where the memory of kings is evident, there certainly seems to be scope for procession and display. The principal public buildings are spaced out so that people could be seen moving from one to another. However, what we perhaps lack are the well-appointed houses dispersed across the town. Generally, large town houses are not a great feature of these townscapes until well into the second century. But we need to recognise the limitations of our knowledge. At Silchester the excavation of the Insula IX diagonal building is suggesting some well-appointed architecture very early on, and this structure may not be alone if other buildings on different alignments known from the Great Plan are comparable (Fulford 2003). It is also here that we see epigraphy spread around the forum in the kind of way our notional model might have predicted. But at Verulamium the early houses seem to be missing. Perhaps one individual dominated the site residing at Gorhambury villa, just on the outskirts of the town? Perhaps the aristocracy only came into town periodically to fulfil administrative and ritual duties on feast days?

Another large house which lay a short way outside where a town was to develop was Fishbourne Roman Palace, near Chichester. Here a recent find probably has great relevance when it comes to imagining the very human acts which preceded the construction of the new-style towns of Roman Britain. During conservation work on the 'Cupid on a Dolphin' mosaic, the floor was lifted to reveal an earlier first-century mosaic beneath it. The floor displayed in a square an idealised town, with gates, walls and an orthogonal grid (Figure 7.8; Room N7 in the north wing, Grew 1981: 364–5; Cunliffe 1998: 69–71).

I wonder how many visitors attended the owner of this Flavian palace and dined with him in this room? Perhaps this place did belong to the friendly king, Cogidubnus, and his descendants? Whatever, this vision of order would have been visible to many of the most powerful individuals in the southeast who would at one time or another have paid court here. The date of the mosaic is about the same time as Silchester was remodelled. I wonder how many rationalisations of streets and impositions of grids had their origins in conversations at dinner parties in this room? Decisions have to be made and ideas implanted somewhere. The reception of individuals at the sumptuous Fishbourne Palace represents an ideal locale for the elite to take away new ideas with which to impress Cogidubnus or his successor.

The second rationale Woolf saw behind the construction of the towns in Gaul was as a way for the aristocracy to impress their subordinates. Certainly the local inhabitants would have made up the majority of social actors in all of the events that took place within these townscapes. With leadership in warfare suppressed, or diverted into the Roman *auxilia*, 'Roman euergetistical monumentalisation may have provided a technology that was much in demand in the immediate post-conquest period' as a way of displaying social distance in the theatres, amphitheatres and bath-houses (Woolf 1998: 125).

To what extent did various individuals in Britain attempt to renegotiate their status after the conquest? How much social mobility was there between the aristocracy and the ruled? Our general view of Roman society is that while it was clearly ranked, over generations there could be quite a significant degree of mobility up (and down) the social ladder. One of the ways in the western Empire that this reveals itself is the manner in which people represent themselves through inscriptions. Epigraphy in Britain is decidedly patchy. While there is an overall lack of good building stone in southeast England, certain towns such as London and the colony at Colchester were relatively well furnished with inscriptions, whereas others such as Verulamium and Silchester were not. One possibility is that a lot of tombstones in Britain lie undiscovered in the foundations of the later Roman walled circuits of these towns. The walled circuits of British towns are significantly larger than many northern Gallic defences, but this may just be special pleading. So why is there a relative lack of tombstones in these towns?

In Gaul the sites that have the largest number of inscriptions are those on the military supply routes, cities such as Narbonne, Nîmes, Lyons, Mainz, Trier and Cologne. This may relate to the number of freedmen involved in trade. In Woolf's analysis most of the epigraphs were not so much symbols of Roman identity as definitions of identity in relational terms against a background of social mobility (Woolf 1998: 78). Throughout the western empire freedmen appear to be overrepresented on tombstones; but then this is precisely the group which may have had internalised issues with their own status. Many rich freedmen may have started as slaves in the households of influential patrons, observing and gaining a high degree of social compet-

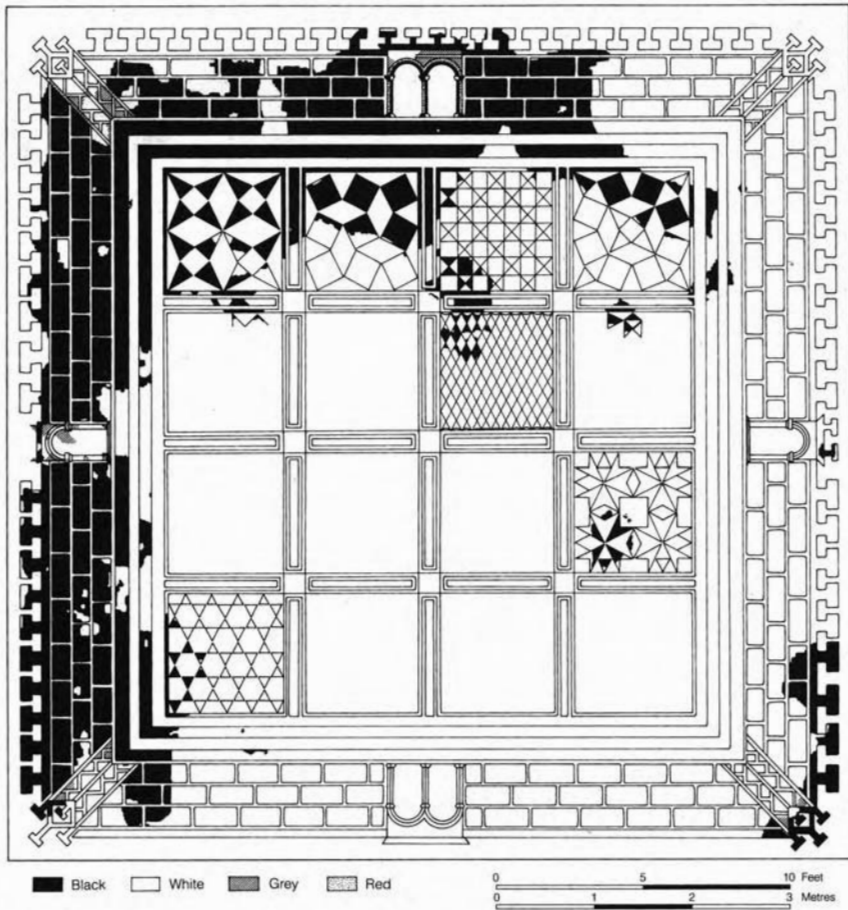


Figure 7.8 The Flavian mosaic in room N7 from Fishbourne Palace, revealed when the later dolphin mosaic was lifted for restoration (drawn by D. Rudkin: © Sussex Archaeology Society)

ence in the ways of the Roman aristocracy. Upon being freed their ability and self-perception of *humanitas* may have been significantly greater than the competence of an auxiliary soldier retired from the army, who had also just become a citizen. ‘The culture of ex-slaves, in other words, might be more closely modelled on that of their ex-masters, than on that of the free-born plebs’ (Woolf 1998: 101).

In Britain perhaps we can therefore understand why London has so many inscriptions. This swiftly changing mobile population was precisely where identity and status had to be negotiated most rapidly, whereas the relative scarcity of individual commemorations from the cities discussed here may

signal a lack of social mobility between the families that were already dominant, and the rest.

Thirdly Woolf saw the construction of towns as a means of providing employment for Gauls of lower status, as a beneficial act of the new ruling class. This employment was an act of redistributing allocative resources, while at the same time reaffirming social dominance.

These towns are not simply pale reflections of classical townscapes, nor are they straightforward imitations of London, nor do they derive directly from life in the Roman army. Lives appear to be structured and lived in rather different ways here, with the entire townscape becoming a strategy for the legitimisation of a particular group within each community as they drew upon memories of the past (however fictional or recent) to reaffirm and reproduce the power structures of the present.

To conclude, how should we view these individuals whose memory was drawn repeatedly upon, these kings and aristocrats of Late Iron Age Britain? Should we see them as the last leaders of a free country before the Roman invasion, or as the first instruments of imperial control on the island, following Caesar's conquest? The choice has consequences for how we represent the past. Woolf (2002), writing about the transition from Iron Age to Roman in Gaul, perceived a marked change in behaviour in what became the Gallic aristocracy. In the Iron Age he saw them continually trying to establish and reaffirm their position through means of public display and largesse: wearing torcs, distributing wine, displaying military prowess and, in some regions, sumptuous burial with plentiful artefacts to show conspicuous consumption to all the onlookers. In the Roman period he felt this had changed: imperial politics meant that individuals were now dependent for their position not just upon the acceptance by the populace beneath them, but also on the patronage elsewhere in the province and Empire. Jewellery shifted to the women and ostentatious display moved gradually to other arenas as the aristocracy attempted to influence their peers and patrons, with mosaics and cuisine being used to display new cultural competences, demonstrating that they were worthy members of the elite of the Principate. So does our evidence from Britain show the same shift, and which category do our British kings come into?

In many ways the years between the Caesarean and Claudian conquests exhibit plenty of evidence for conspicuous consumption in front of a large audience. The massive earthworks associated with some of the '*oppida*' or royal ceremonial sites were designed to impress. They incorporated sites such as the St Michael's enclosure at Verulamium or 'Cunobelin's farmstead' at Camulodunum in which rites could be performed. Archaeologically these Later Iron Age sites have revealed a far higher proportion of drinking vessels than the layers from their successor Roman towns (Evans 2001), suggesting that consuming was an important activity here. Even the granaries at Gorhambury, on the edge of the Verulamium *oppidum*, or the ones at

Fishbourne (if pre-Claudian), demonstrate that the large-scale distribution of largesse was certainly within the power of these individuals. So perhaps the conspicuous consumption of food and drink was a strategy used by these Iron Age kings. So it seems that our Iron Age kings were true to their Iron Age origins. This reading of the period is mirrored in the reconstruction painting commissioned to depict the mortuary chamber from the Folly Lane site. This picture (Figure 7.9) shows the body laid out with all the material goods which were to end up on the funerary pyre some time later. It is very well researched, being the result of a close collaboration between the excavator and the artist. In the picture can be seen Roman amphorae, samian ware, chain mail, ivory knobs on the burial couch (or chair), hobnailed boots, and even the horse fittings hanging up in the background. Around this are the Britons painted in woad, with Celtic-style tattoos and lime-washed hair, drinking un-watered-down wine in classic barbarian style; a bard is singing with a lyre, and everyone is dressed in their fine tartan trousers. The whole composition is a wonderful evocation of the twilight of Iron Age Britain.

The similarity in the trajectory taken by Britain and Gaul appears to falter in what happens next. In Gaul, Woolf thought that there was relatively little continuity either side of the conquest, with the surviving aristocracy very much turning their backs on their Iron Age roots as their cultural identities altered to create Gallo-Roman culture. He considered that little time was spent 'preserving a social memory of their pre-conquest past' (Woolf 2002: 7). As the new world order of the Principate came into being the local aristocracy were all too happy to move home from their hilltop *oppida* to their new towns in the valley bottoms, deserting the ceremonial centres of their ancestors. This rejection of the past is not what we see in Britain. Here many 'Roman towns' developed on top of the preceding ceremonial centres, and in the shadow of what may be the burials of kings. Here a past is very clearly being evoked, and continually elaborated upon as the ceremonial routes are monumentalised with the addition of fora, bath-houses and other structures. So how do we understand this apparent contrast between Britain and Gaul, two places which otherwise seem so similar?

I am not sure that there is a real problem here, only an imaginary one connected with how we view the past. If we see the dynasties of the Late Iron Age as the final flourish of Britain before the Romans then we have a contradiction. However, if we think of these dynasties as having been fostered or even imposed by Rome in the first place, then these constant acts of remembrance throughout the first to third centuries are not recalling a mythical Iron Age history, but make reference to the origins of Roman imperialism in Britain, through the offices of the friendly kings. In celebrating the memory of the king new beginnings were being invoked as much as distant pasts.

Let us return to examine the picture more closely. The individuals depicted in the painting are all caricatures of Iron Age Britons, drawn from evidence from different times and places. Certainly people like this existed somewhere



Figure 7.9 Impression of the pre-funerary rites in the mortuary chamber at Folly Lane, Verulamium (painting by John Pearson: © St Albans Museums)

at some time; we have the evidence for tattoos, colourful cloth and lime-washed hair. But did they attend the burial rites of the body at Folly Lane? When we look at the artefacts found with the body we note that virtually everything came from the Roman world. In terms of material identity the objects that the mourners associated with the body were Roman in identity, not 'Iron Age'. The mourners in this picture come from the imagination of how the excavator and artist are reconstructing the past, not from the direct evidence of the excavation. If our friendly king had been brought up in Rome, had been from a family given citizenship under Caesar or Augustus, had worn the trappings of power linked with the Roman world, might we not expect his self-conceived identity to be that of an urbane Roman aristocrat, ruling over his people, but associating himself more with his peers across the broader Roman world than with people who dressed and drank as barbarians? Virtually all the naturalistic portraits we have on the coinage of the dynasts are clean-shaven, as all good Romans were until Hadrian changed the fashion to cover up a scar, but here the corpse has been given a rather Gallic moustache. In this painting our British aristocrat has been represented not as someone who could pass himself off in Roman elite society, but as a barbarian surrounded by trinkets. He has been taken to represent the end of an old order, rather than part of the creation of a new one, the province of Britannia. In my reconstruction of the past I think this individual would have been absolutely mortified by this evocative composition.

CONCLUSION

The creation of the Roman Province of Britannia marked a significant divergence from life in the Earlier Iron Age. We find a world transformed from disparate communities with varying identities to one where there is a strong overarching political framework, with a new ideology that drew together these peoples into a larger whole. How had this change taken place? One of the key themes in this book has been that while the invasion under Claudius of the southeast was clearly important, the broader shifts in the nexus of power in Britain have much earlier origins. The kings, who held dominion from Caesar's visit until the Flavian period, were fundamental to this change and were in many ways partners in the creation of Roman imperial culture. None the less, when history is written it is the iconic dates such as AD 43 which get remembered, as if it was then that society was transformed, when of course society is always being reinvented in a continuous process of negotiation.

When regime change takes place, such as the arrival of Rome, it is often all too easy to see the discontinuities rather than the continuities which may lie beneath. Alterations in power-structures can be traumatic, and as with all traumas the memory at one level conveniently forgets or fictionalises the unpalatable truths of what has taken place to create new foundation myths that can inspire. In modern Europe this has repeatedly been seen and documented. For example France, in the years following the Second World War subscribed to a vision enshrined in de Gaulle, namely that he 'had triumphed in those war years, incarnating the essence of France with his refusal to collaborate' (Nossiter 2001: 5). His canonical vision, which was widely accepted, was that nothing of the nation's murky collaborationist regime had survived, and France had been reborn. The self-delusion forgot that the purge after the war was less than thorough. Proportionately fewer people were imprisoned after the fall of Vichy than in any other western European country for collaboration: of 1.5 million civil servants in the war years, most were left to carry on with their jobs; only 28,000 were penalised in any way. Some, like Maurice Papon, who had been involved in the deportation of the Jews from Bordeaux, had no great setback in their career; he became Prefect of

Paris under de Gaulle and ended his days as Minister of Finance, before his past caught up with him. This vision also conveniently forgot that the Vichy regime of Marshall Pétain had not been an imposition pressed on the country by overbearing Nazis, but had been led by part of the French establishment, wishing to take advantage of the situation to roll back seventy years of parliamentary democracy to create a reactionary authoritarian regime. The project, with its far-right-wing ideology, had its roots firmly in French culture. But canonical history, popular history, did not like to remember such things. It was only in the 1970s that the comforting post-war Gaullist myth was disassembled, particularly following the publication of an American's critique of Vichy using French archives which French historians had somewhat neglected (Paxton 1972). This late reappraisal eventually culminated in an apology by President Chirac and belated trials for crimes against humanity.

An analysis of how the French reflected upon their experiences concluded that there were 'apparently two levels of understanding. There was the past that served for everyday use, and then there was another past, informed by memories and conscience, more difficult to acknowledge' (Nossiter 2001: 34). The same is true with archaeology and history. There are the canonical popular versions of events, simple with heroes and villains, and then there is the messier story if you dig just a little deeper.

Back in the Roman period there exists a similar desire to create uncomplicated stories of conquest and rebellion where the protagonists are freedom-loving natives and invading Romans. The hero of the Gallic conquest was clearly Vercingetorix, uniting many of the tribes of Gaul in one last valiant effort to throw off the Roman yoke; and yet he was no saint. He came from the communities of the Arverni, a tribe that had been developing new forms of oligarchic rule, moving away from monarchy. However, Vercingetorix can be seen as a reactionary; his father had been a leader and held suzerainty over all Gaul, but 'had been put to death by his compatriots for seeking to make himself King' (Caesar, *BG* 7.4). When the Gallic revolt broke out, Vercingetorix used the opportunity to reaffirm his family position. He proposed rebellion but his uncle and other chiefs rejected him and expelled him from Gergovie. It was only through gathering a private army of brigands and peasants (according to Caesar) who called him king, that he managed to wrestle authority from his own tribe, the Arverni. I tend to see Vercingetorix as a reactionary rather than a freedom fighter, wanting authoritarian power restored rather than these new experiments in oligarchy. So when in the war years Marshall Pétain had erected a statue of Vercingetorix, cast with his own features, I would be curious to know which vision of the rebel he had in mind, freedom fighter or militaristic reactionary (Olivier 1998).

Similar considerations apply when we examine regime change in Britain, both to those who experienced it then, and to those who reflect upon it now. Looking back on it, our popular vision of history creates a nice easy division

between Iron Age resistance and Roman invaders. We have promoted the characters of Caratacus and Boudica as valiant heroes opposing the aggression of Rome. But scratch the surface a little and these characters from the past are far more complex than our canonical history would like to suggest.

Caratacus, son of Cunobelin, was a member of a dynasty which had done very well out of allegiance with the Roman state. Over the generations they had succeeded in becoming the dominant family holding direct or indirect rule over much of the Thames valley. Even the Dobunni in the west were subservient to them. How this had come about is a mystery. Had it been the consequence of dynastic marriages, warfare, raiding for slaves, control of imports – possibly all four? Upon the collapse of native resistance in the southeast (there does not appear to have been too much opposition, and one wonders how glad some people were to see the back of this regime and a shift to more oligarchic rule), Caratacus moved operations to the west. The ease with which he took over the leadership of the Silures in South Wales, and later the Ordovices in North Wales to fight Rome, suggests either profound diplomatic skills or, more likely, brute force. But his power and authority came from a dynasty that had been backed up and supported by Rome. He was fighting against the people who had fostered his family's position. So you could think of him, as Elgar did in his romantic cantata *Caractacus*, as a freedom fighter (Elgar and Acworth 1898). However, I would tend to see him as an individual thoroughly compromised in his links with Rome, turning against the Empire because his own claim to inherit his father's domains had been rejected and he had not been recognised as King.

Boudica's story is similar; she was the wife of Prasutagus, a client king who was famed for his wealth. Again, she almost certainly benefited enormously during these years of collaboration, until it all went wrong with her husband's death and her Faustian debt was called in. As a freedom fighter, it is curious that she was quite happy to enjoy the trappings of the privileged status Rome gave to her husband.

It is time that the conquest of Britain lost its innocence. We like heroes and villains, we like clear dates to note when events took place, but reality is always far more complicated than that. Clear-cut stories without moral ambiguities are the luxury of childhood. As we grow up the world changes from black and white into shades of grey when things are no longer as simple as right or wrong. For me it is the individual wrestling with choice, making decisions, that is what I find fascinating about the past.

The late first century BC and the early first century AD did not see the extension of Roman culture across temperate Europe in competition with existing societies; rather it witnessed the creation of a new Imperial culture (Woolf 1997: 341). The friendly kings in Britain and beyond found common purpose with the elite in Rome, and in the interplay of ideas and values they helped fashion new social identities for themselves, bonding them into the Principate.

In Mauretania, Juba and his wife, Cleopatra Selene, set about transforming their new dominion. Having had a childhood in Rome at the court of Octavian, Juba II found himself granted a kingdom in Mauretania. Here he tried to show that he was still living life in accordance with Roman standards, displaying his *humanitas*, by developing his own royal court (Roller 2003: 119–62). Innovative new buildings were constructed, and an orderly orthogonal plan was forced through the Carthaginian and Numidian city of Caesarea. The choices being made here were similar to the ones initiated by Cogidubnus and his ilk, building temples in Chichester, and reconfiguring the layout of Silchester by driving straight roads through an existent settlement to create a new sense of order. No matter that this knocked through the portico of an existing bath-house – this new project had symbolic importance in communicating to visitors what a ‘civilised’ town should look like. The arrival of Juba in an alien land re-creating a haven of *romanitas* around him also has resonances with earlier times at Silchester. When it was established c.10 BC, its material culture in terms of ceramics, food and buildings contrasted greatly with anything hitherto in central southern Britain. Again, whoever was founding this settlement was creating a haven of *humanitas* on a lesser scale within which to feel comfortable and rule. Whether this was Tincomarus returning from an upbringing in Rome we can only speculate.

Juba set to work not only in the town but also on other projects. Near Tipasa a massive tomb was constructed, probably at this time, as the Mauretanian Royal Mausoleum (cf. Pomponius Mela 1.31). In its design it drew upon earlier mausolea in Numidia (whence his father had come), but it also bore a striking resemblance to Augustus’ monumental tomb, which was already under construction in 27 BC, before Juba II left Rome. Juba was drawing upon both local and Augustan models, and this shows how this creation of a new Imperial culture was not just a one-way flow, but rather a dialogue between the elites of the developing Imperial diaspora. In Britain too we have our kings of the Eastern dominions constructing the Lexden tumulus, a much more modest affair, but again a monument which has been seen as drawing its inspiration from a combination of the tumuli of much earlier pre-history, the developing burial culture of Belgic Gaul (e.g. the tomb at Clemency: Metzler *et al.* 1991) and Augustus’ mausoleum. Ideas flowed around within this elite network.

Change does not need programmatic ‘Romanisation’. What it requires is a community of ideas and people with a commonality of interests. In Mauretania we have just about enough information to see this taking place at a human level, combining the archaeology and the numismatic and epigraphic record, with the literary evidence. In Britain we are less fortunate, but that does not mean to say we cannot imagine the individual responses. In this book I hope I have shown how at this human level individuals acted to create the Roman Province of Britannia from the kings’ political dalliance with Rome, drawing them into a new network of power and ideas (chapter 1), to

their adoption of the trappings of power which went along with this new elite (chapter 2). While AD 43 may be the date of the Claudian invasion, the Roman military influence in Britain may be far more complex and multi-layered than the invasion story suggests. Many of the elite may have already been trained with the Roman army, served with them, even adapted their own militias to operate along similar lines (chapter 3). While the changes before the Flavian period certainly did not reach every level of society, there was an extent to which certain Britons were becoming Roman without knowing it. This provided the infrastructure of values and ideas amongst the political elite of southeast Britain by the time of the Claudian annexation. As the legions arrived *en masse*, and did not go away again, the number of Roman traders associated with the military supply lines and tempted by new opportunities probably increased markedly, not just in the camps, but in the *oppida* of the former or continuing friendly kings. As these populations sized up to each other, each sought to impress as they constructed around themselves the emergent towns of Roman Britain. All of these drew upon classical precedent, but each was different, making reference to themes that reflected the origins of its population (chapters 4–6). Most importantly, the memory of the kings became enshrined in some of these towns in exactly the same way as the founder of the Province itself got enshrined in the massive monumental temple of Claudius at Colchester. The trajectory of the towns cannot be understood without reference to the Later Iron Age kings, in exactly the same way as the Late Iron Age cannot be understood without reference to the development of the Principate.

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